Washingtoniana

Class E312

Book .P53

1874

1st ed.

#47

1.50 for

e
c.b.m.

1973

possessed some mathematical knowledge and understood surveying thoroughly. As he reached his fifteenth year, he desired to enter the British navy. It was a time of war. The tears of his mother, it is said, prevented this step when every preparation had been made ready for his embarkation. Thus it will be seen, that filial love and reverence for a widowed mother were the means used by a superintending Providence to save him from a step that might have led him far away from the brilliant destiny and useful career that awaited him.

CHAPTER III.

There 's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we will.

At sixteen years of age we find Washington a visitor at the house of his brother Lawrence. His brother lived at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac. Lawrence Washington had been a member of the royal navy, and had accompanied Admiral Vernon to South America, in the unsuccessful expedition against Carthagena, in 1740. While on this expedition Captain Lawrence Washington formed intimate personal relations with Vernon, and at the close of the war, after he retired to his home, named the plantation he had inherited from his father after the Admiral under whom he had served. The meager records which have been spared us of the early youth of Washington, enable us to form some idea of the direction of his mind and the early development of that thoughtful consideration for others, and that watchfulness over himself, that so characterized his later years. When about

thirteen years of age, he kept a blank book for the reception of such rules and maxims as he thought useful and instructive. About forty rules are found copied in this manuscript for the government of his life, manners, and conversation. We will copy for our young readers three of the rules selected from his code: "When you speak of God or his attributes be seriously reverent. Let your recreations be *manful*, not sinful. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience."

While George was a visitor at his brother's house, he formed the acquaintance of Lord Fairfax, a near neighbor of his brother. This British nobleman, from some disappointment in love, had been induced to abandon the gay world, and had come to Virginia in 1739, to look after the large estates he had inherited from his mother. His mother was the daughter of Lord Culpepper, who had been the Governor of the province of Virginia between the years 1680 and 1683. His estates comprised more than five millions of acres lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac, on both sides of the Blue Ridge, including a great portion of the Shenandoah Valley. Lord Fairfax was so pleased with the physical and social aspects of the country that he determined to spend the remainder of his life in Virginia. He erected a beautiful seat called Belvoir, near Mount Vernon. In 1748 he became acquainted with George Washington, a boy of sixteen years of age, but so mature did this boy appear to Lord Fairfax, that he intrusted to him the work of surveying his lands west of the Blue Ridge. Washington faithfully executed the business committed to him, undergoing many privations and hardships in

traversing the wild and then almost uninhabited country. This pursuit was continued for three years. This was the commencement of an intimacy between Fairfax and Washington, which lasted through all political changes and differences of opinion, until Fairfax closed, at an advanced age, his earthly career. So favorable was the report given by Washington of the lands surveyed, that Fairfax determined to remove to the fertile and beautiful valley of Virginia, where, at a place called Greenway Court, he lived for many years in a state of baronial hospitality. Some of the manuscripts of Washington when a boy have come down to us, written with much accuracy and method, and testify that he had thoroughly improved all the educational advantages he had possessed. How few boys in our vaunted days of progress and school facilities would be qualified at sixteen to do extensive and reliable work as a surveyor. Mr. Irving, in his Life of Washington, speaks of the remarkable neatness and precision of his accounts and papers when a youth, and of his skill in the construction of tables and drawing of plans. Specimens of these from his school-boy days yet remain. He acquired, too, at an early age, among his companions and contemporaries, a character for justice, veracity, and sterling honor, that he maintained to the latest day of his life. In his intervals of toil he seemed always to be attracted to the best men and to be cherished by them. Fairfax, his employer, an Oxford scholar, became his devoted friend. He read with close attention. His papers show that he gained the power of writing and expressing himself with clearness and directness. His literary culture, as we have already hinted, was not equal to some of

those with whom he was afterward destined to act on the great theater of national affairs; but no man ever appeared to be, or ever was, from his youth upward and from his first actions, more *set apart* for his future life and for the cause whose success he was afterward to insure. He early showed a military taste, as was proved by his desire to enter the navy in a time of war. He had great skill in horsemanship. His robust constitution was invigorated by his early life in the wilderness and by his rigid temperance, so that few equaled him in strength of arm or power of endurance. In writing to Gov. Dinwiddie, Washington says: "I can answer that I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials, and I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man dares, as shall be proved when it comes to the test."

In 1754, George II. was listening to a dispatch from the Governor of Virginia, in which young Major Washington concluded an account of the first skirmish with these words: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." The king remarked, "He would not say so if he had heard many." Washington was afterward of the king's opinion; for when the major of the Virginia militia had become commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, he replied to some one who asked him if he had ever expressed himself thus, "If I ever said so, it was when I was very young." This story, taken from Walpole's Memoirs of George II., is of very doubtful authority. George II. was the last monarch of England who appeared

personally on a field of battle. He had heard many bullets whistle in the Thirty Years war. Voltaire records as a fact that the reckless Charles XII. of Sweden said, that no music was so sweet to him as the whistling of bullets, but a feeling like this ill comports with the serious and serene ardor of Washington. His youthful ardor bore the authority of maturer years.

CHAPTER IV.

I hear the tread of pioneers,
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of waves, where soon
Shall roll a human sea.

An eventful period now approached, when all the military taste and skill that Washington possessed were to be developed. The boundaries between the British and French possessions in America had been for many years a subject of dispute. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, left those boundaries still undefined. The English based their pretensions to the territories they claimed, on the discoveries of the Cabots. John Cabot, with his son Sebastian, had been sent out by Henry VII. of England on a voyage of discovery. These men were the first to discover the *continent* of America, in 1497. Columbus discovered the mainland of South America in 1498, at the mouth of the Orinoco. Sebastian Cabot, in a second voyage, took possession, in the name of his sovereign, of all the coast from Labrador to Chesapeake Bay. In 1524, a Florentine navigator, sailing in the service of France, explored the coast from the Carolinas to New-

foundland. Ten years afterward, Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence river and took possession in the name of the king of France, and all the country north of it. The French, however, made no permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence until one was made at Quebec, in 1608. The English claimed all the coast from Newfoundland to Florida. The French claimed all the interior portion adjacent to the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi and its tributaries, on the ground that they had explored it; and in order to make good their claims they had erected forts in various places in this region. The Spaniards and Portuguese had taken possession of all South America, and the former power had made settlements in Florida. Thus you see the powers of Europe, the white men, claimed all the immense territories of the red men. It must ever be thus: ignorance and barbarity must yield to knowledge and civilization. The history of the red men, or Indians, is full of painful and tragic interest. There have been occasionally revealed among these untaught children of the wilderness the most noble traits of character—gleams and flashes of nobility that prove they were created by the Great Spirit, whom they profess to worship. Think of the heroic conduct of the Indian Virginian maiden Pocahontas, who risked her own life to save another's, and of her kindness and generosity manifested to the infant colony at Jamestown. Where did she learn mercy?* Not from her cruel father or treacherous

*Some historians now affect to disbelieve the story of the interposition of the Indian maiden to save Smith. The elements of probability in this incident challenge our belief. Some persons are unbelievers in all heroism. "When a man is infected," says Dr. Arnold, "with anti-romance, he has lost the finest part of his nature."

countrymen. No; they considered it a virtue to torture their enemies. Her virtues were instincts kindled in her breast by the Holy Spirit. There were, too, bold brave spirits among them; such as Philip in the early days of Indian warfare (in New England), and Pontiac in the Northwest, and Tecumseh, half a century ago, who would have driven the white man from their borders, but the odds against them were too fearfully great.

A short time before the Revolutionary war commenced (in October, 1774), the Shawanese Indians waged fearful strife in western and southwestern Virginia. Some of the bloodiest and best contested battles in the annals of forest warfare were then fought. Of all the western Indians, the Shawanese were the fiercest. It was in this Indian war that "Logan" satisfied his revenge for injuries he had received previously, from a cruel white man. Logan made a speech in defense of his conduct that has made his name famous, showing the cruel wrongs he had received. In their early history especially, many of their speeches to the white men were full of eloquence and truth. Some of our statesmen and historians have taken much pains and pleasure to present in their pages the burning words and forcible remonstrances of the poor Indian—but, alas! they could avail nothing. It was the plan of a wise Providence that the more enlightened white man should possess this great country. It was the plan of God that the religion of Christ should in this land have full scope and extension. Retribution doubtless has come, and will come, upon the oppressors of this poor savage people. The Great Spirit has heard and will hear their cry. Heaven's unerring arm will

certainly fall upon those who wantonly have done or are doing them wrong. The historical memories of this strange people are embalmed in the grand national features of our country. To future generations, the names of our lakes, rivers, and mountains will bear the most certain testimony of the existence and residence of this peculiar people.

CHAPTER V.

Come, bright improvement! on the car of Time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;
Thy handmaid arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave, and culture every shore.
On Erie's banks, where tigers steal along
And the dread Indian chants a dismal song,
Each wandering genius of the lonely glen
Shall start to view the glittering haunts of men.

We now return to the historical events of which we were speaking. In consequence of the conflicting claims between England and France a war ensued, called the French and Indian war. It was a contest for territory and dominion in America. An organization known as the Ohio Company had obtained from the king of England a grant of land on and near the Ohio river, for the purpose of settling the country and carrying on the fur trade with the Indians. The plan formed by France, of uniting Canada with Louisiana by a line of forts, now began to be developed. They began to make aggressive acts on the land claimed by the Ohio Company, and within the province of Virginia. A line of posts was commenced from the lakes to the Ohio. The attention of Mr. Dinwiddie, then Governor of Virginia, was at-

tracted to the encroachments of the French. He therefore deemed it his duty, in the name of the king of England, his master, to protest against the violation of treaties between the two crowns. The envoy selected to carry the remonstrance of the Governor of Virginia to the French commandant was George Washington, not then twenty-two years of age. Fame waited on him from his youth. Washington seems to have accepted this arduous mission with alacrity, extending perhaps his view, with prophetic foresight, to the future scenes that would be enacted in that country. Washington set out on his mission on the last day of October, 1753, from Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia. He was sent to a council of Indian chiefs on the Ohio, and to meet French officers near Lake Erie. A poet speaks of a man in solitude, or on a desolate island, as being denied the greatest of human pleasures, "the sweet music of speech." It must have been a great embarrassment to Washington to be compelled to transact business with men when both the savage and civilized man must speak to him in an unknown tongue. He took with him a French interpreter and several Indian traders. He had before him a difficult journey of four hundred miles, through a wilderness inhabited by hostile Indians. When he reached the spot where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio, he examines the spot with the eye of an engineer, and recommends in his journal that the Ohio Company should build a fort at this place. A short time subsequent to Washington's visit, the French seized this place, after the Ohio Company had begun

a fortification. They erected a fort, and called it Fort Du Quesne, after the French governor of Canada. Washington met in this vicinity several Indian chiefs. He gives a graphic account of an interview with the king of the Delawares, whose residence or wigwam was in the immediate vicinity of the present city of Pittsburgh. Washington was conducted by his guides to Fort Venango, on the Alleghany river, and from thence to Fort Le Bœuf, on French creek, where he found the French commandant, St. Pierre. On his return he encountered many hardships from storms and floods and hostile Indians. He reached Williamsburg in eleven weeks from the time he had left it, and delivered to Dinwiddie, St. Pierre's letter in reply. St. Pierre said he was acting under the orders of Du Quesne, his governor, and that he should not leave the territory. The English now understood that it was time to prepare for a struggle with the French, if they would hold and secure their territory on the Ohio river. This expedition of Washington may seem to the young people of this day a small affair, but remember, it required much bravery of heart and bodily exposure to accomplish it. The perseverance with which Washington surmounted difficulties on this occasion, and the judgment displayed in his intercourse with the Indians, greatly raised him in public estimation. The country over which this young man now traveled was a wilderness. There were savages to encounter—sometimes friendly, but more frequently inimical; there were great rivers to cross, whose waters had never been disturbed except by the Indian's canoe, and almost inaccessible mountain fastnesses to traverse. On one occasion

his dusky guide proved treacherous. Turning suddenly around, he sped an arrow in the direction of Washington and his companion, Mr. Gist. It fell harmless at their feet: then Mr. Gist would have killed the Indian, deeming an Indian's life of little worth, but Washington stayed his hand. There was mercy in his Christian heart toward this stealthy foe. Now, all that region that was then so rugged in its wildness is clothed with beauty. The mountains still frown in their magnificence, the primeval forests still wave upon their summits, but man has made himself smooth roads around their sides and can travel over them with almost lightning speed, scarcely conscious of ascent or descent. The place that Washington surveyed as an excellent site for a fort, is now encompassed by a large prosperous city. In our country, smiling landscapes, fruitful fields, the busy hum of cities, meet us on every hand. Have my young readers ever reflected upon these grand, glorious things? By whom were they purchased? How much danger is to be encountered, how many privations endured, how much toil, how many tears, how much blood, does it cost to build up a nation or an empire? Washington was the leader, the pioneer who opened the way for improvement. He was assisted by a band of noble coadjutors, who laid the foundation of the multiform and wondrous structures which we now glorify. All nations have extolled their founders. The ancient Romans made their apotheosis, *i.e.*, they erected statues to those men who had suffered much in procuring blessings for their countrymen, and then placed the statues in the temples of their gods. We must not deify our fathers, but we must venerate and emu-

late their self-denial, their industry, their independence, and patriotism. Why are the deeds of virtuous ancestors and of the benefactors of states so praiseworthy? It is because their work was not so much for themselves as for those who came after them. Life is often too short for the fruition of glorious deeds, but the works follow them. Let the footprints of the wise and good encourage you to follow, treading firmly the paths of truth and right, though the way be rough, and though thorns rise up to prick and sting you.

CHAPTER VI.

> But we will combat for our father's land,
> And we will drain the life-blood where we stand,
> To save our children; fight ye side by side,
> And serried close, ye men of youthful pride.

St. Pierre's letter and the report made by Washington of the warlike preparation he had witnessed, induced the Virginia assembly to authorize their governor to raise a regiment. A regiment of three hundred men was soon collected. Mr. Fry, a gentleman well acquainted with the western country, was made commander or colonel, and Major Washington made lieutenant-colonel. Washington seemed to consider it important to enter into active service immediately. He therefore requested that he might march in advance with two companies. He accordingly set out in the beginning of April, 1754, to a place on the Monongahela river called "Great Meadows." As soon as he arrived, he was informed by some friendly Indians that the French had dispossessed the workmen employed by the Ohio Company to erect a fort

at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and were themselves completing the fort called Fort Du Quesne. They further told them that a detachment from that place was on its march to the "Great Meadows." The Indians offering themselves as guides, Col. Washington set out on a dark rainy night. He surrounded the French encampment and completely surprised it. It was a few miles west of the "Great Meadows." At daybreak, Washington's troops fired and rushed upon the French, who immediately surrendered. One man only escaped. There was but one man killed, but he was a person of distinction: it was Mr. Jumonville, the commanding officer. It is said, we believe on the authority of Chateaubriand (a famous Frenchman), that the death of Jumonville was greatly deplored in the salons of Paris, and the young man Washington execrated.

So you see that even at this early day the eyes of the intelligent and fashionable in the Old World were cast with interest on the rising fortunes of the New. The residue of the regiment was now on its way to join Washington's detachment. Col. Fry died at Patterson's creek, on his way thither. The command then devolved on Col. Washington. Their junction took place at the Great Meadows, soon after which two independent companies arrived—one from South Carolina, the other from New York. The Virginia regiment was not complete; there were in all less than four hundred effective men. Fort Necessity was erected at the Great Meadows for the purpose of securing the provisions and the horses. The troops then commenced to march to Fort Du Quesne, to dispossess the French. When they reached Laurel Hill, about

fourteen miles from Fort Necessity, they were met by friendly Indians, who told them that the French were advancing in numbers "like the pigeons in the woods." A trustworthy chief informed them that the French were eight hundred in number, and the Indians about four hundred. The situation of Washington and his troops was truly hazardous. They had been without bread for six days. The army marching against them could approach within five miles of the fort where they had left their provisions, and cut off their supplies. A council of war determined to fall back to the fort at the Great Meadows. In pursuance of this advice, Col. Washington began to ditch around the fort. Before they had proceeded far with their work, the enemy, amounting to fifteen hundred men, under De Villiers, appeared and commenced a furious attack upon the fort. The Americans met them with intrepidity, fighting partly within the fort and in the ditch half-filled with water. Col. Washington, it is said, fought the whole day on the outside of the fort. The enemy fought under cover of the trees and high grass. The engagement lasted from ten in the morning until dark, when Monsieur De Villiers offered terms of capitulation. The fort was surrendered on condition that the garrison be permitted to retire unmolested, with the honors of war, and be permitted to retain arms and baggage. Great credit was accorded by his countrymen to Col. Washington for his intrepidity, and a vote of thanks was rendered to him and the officers under his command.

Soon after this time, September, 1754, the Virginia regiment was reduced to independent companies. In the winter following, orders were received from Eng-

land settling the rank of his majesty's forces when serving with the provincial forces in North America. All officers commissioned by the king were to take rank of all officers commissioned by the governors of their respective provinces. The field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with the officers of the crown. Captains of the royal troops were to take rank of provincial officers of the same grade having senior commissions. Notwithstanding Washington's love for a military life, he determined to retire from the army, since he could not hold the rank that was justly his due. And, when pressed by letters, begging him to continue to hold his commission, he replied he would serve with pleasure whenever he could do so without dishonor. Such were the punctilious feelings of this heroic soldier.

CHAPTER VII.

Wisdom's self oft seeks retired solitude,
Where, with her best nurse, contemplation,
She plumes her feathers, and lets go her wings.

His eldest brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington, had lately died and had left him his paternal estate on the Potomac, Mount Vernon. To this place he now retired, but he was not long permitted to enjoy inglorious ease. General Braddock hearing of his merit, and the motives which had induced him to decline military service, now invited him to become his aid. This invitation was accepted, with the stipulation that when the campaign was over he might be permitted to retire to his private affairs. Col. Washington accompanied

Braddock to Will's creek, afterward Fort Cumberland (now the city of Cumberland, in northwestern Maryland). It is at the eastern base of the Alleghany Mountains. Here the army was detained, waiting for wagons to take their provisions. Washington advised that they should use pack-horses, instead of wagons, on account of the bad roads. His advice was rejected at first, but afterward adopted. This army of Braddock's consisted of two British regiments and a few corps of provincials. Washington was taken ill on the road and compelled to stop. He urged Braddock to take as little baggage as possible, and to choose a select corps in order to press on to Fort Du Quesne before the whole body of the French army expected at that place could arrive. Braddock adopted this advice. He selected twelve hundred men, to be commanded in person by Braddock, accompanied by Sir Peter Halket as a brigadier; Dunbar and Chapman were to remain with the residue of the regiments and the heavy baggage. Washington was disappointed that there was not more celerity used. He writes to his brother, that this army had occupied four days in reaching the crossing of the Youghiogheny, a distance of only nineteen miles. "They stop," complained Washington, "to level every mole-hill and throw bridges over every brook." The day before the action on the Monongahela, Washington rejoined the army. Washington, knowing the habits of the Indians, begged that a party of scouts should be sent in front to examine the ground and watch the Indians. This all-important suggestion was disregarded. The army soon fell into an ambush of French and Indians. In a short time after this action commenced, Washington

was the only aid who remained alive and unwounded. Upon him, therefore, devolved the whole duty of carrying the orders of the commander-in-chief. He had two horses killed under him, and four bullets passed through his coat. Dr. Craik, his surgeon and friend, was an eye-witness of this bloody affair, and expected every moment to see him fall, he said, in relating the incidents of this tragedy. The action lasted three hours. The brave Braddock, after having three horses killed under him, received a mortal wound. He died four days after the battle. The superintending providence of God saved Washington unhurt. As there was no chaplain present, Washington himself read the funeral service over the body of his commander. Braddock's troops, when their leader was killed, were seized with a panic and fled in all directions. Washington, with pious care, superintended the removal and burial of the body. In writing to Gov. Dinwiddie, Washington says the *officers* of Braddock behaved with great bravery, but the conduct of the regular troops (so-called) was dastardly; they ran as sheep before hounds. The Virginia companies acted nobly and died like soldiers; for out of *three* companies on the ground that day, only thirty men remained alive! Washington's conduct in this battle has been greatly extolled, and it is believed by his countrymen that if Washington's advice had been followed, the terrible disasters of that day would have been avoided. Braddock's defeat brought great sufferings on the back settlements of Virginia.

The Indians were encouraged to make extensive depredations on the valley of Virginia. Many fami-

lies fled from their homes, terrified by the incursions of ruthless savages. The Virginia legislature determined to raise sixteen companies to defend the settlements in the valley from these wily, treacherous foes. The command of this regiment was given to Col. Washington. He was designated as the commander in-chief of the forces that were raised and of all that might be raised. A task like unto the labors of Hercules was now imposed upon him. The frontier to be protected was three hundred and fifty miles in extent. The militia system was very defective, and the number of troops in the regular establishment was totally insufficient to protect so extensive a frontier. Marauding parties of French and Indians were constantly attacking the small forts, and had frequent skirmishes with the scouting parties sent out against them. The people lived in continual alarm. "The supplicating tears of the women, and the moving petitions of the men, meet me with such deadly sorrow, that I could offer myself as a sacrifice if it would contribute to the people's ease." Large bodies of savages were in the service of France, and in 1757 they spread desolation and rapine over the whole country west of the Blue Ridge. The exertions of the Virginia regiments to protect the inhabitants were ineffectual. Washington had for a long time been anxious to adopt offensive measures, but some time elapsed before his views were adopted. He desired to attack Fort Du Quesne and take it from the French. In 1758, his desire was gratified. The fort was taken without loss of life or the shedding of blood. While Washington and his men were advancing to the fort with painful steps, expecting a severe con-

flict, the French, pressed by famine, escaped down the Ohio river, deserting forever the place they had seemed so anxious to retain. This fort, so all important to the southern and middle provinces, had been surrendered by the French on account of the intercepting of their supplies and re-enforcements by a British fleet; also by the success of the English and Americans in the North, which rendered it impossible for the French any longer to support this fort. The fort was now repaired, and a new name was given to it. It was called Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh), after England's great minister, who now with much vigor and talent governed the nation. Col. Washington, leaving two hundred men at Fort Pitt, returned to Winchester, from which place he soon after set out for the capital, to attend the House of Burgesses, of which he had been elected a member by the county of Frederick, Va. In consequence of the removal of the French from the Ohio, there was a cessation of the hostilities of the Indians. As the country was now relieved from danger, Washington determined to retire from military service. His health was impaired by his recent warfare and exposure. He resigned his commission as colonel of the First Virginia regiment and as commander of the colonial troops.

CHAPTER VIII.

Domestic Happiness, thou only bliss
Of Paradise, that has survived the fall!
Thou art not known where pleasure is adored,
That reeling goddess with the zoneless waist.

THE troops that Washington had commanded in his late campaign made him an affectionate address, expressive of the high opinion they entertained both of his military and private character. Soon after his resignation he was married to Mrs. Custis, a young widow. This lady had one child, a son—John Parke Custis. As an evidence of Washington's appreciation of his wife, we must tell you that on the death of this son, in 1781, Washington adopted two of his children, G. W. Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis. The portraits of Mrs. Martha Washington that have come down to us, reveal a face and form of much beauty. She is said to have possessed the qualities which make a happy home. Washington's life and domestic record were as unspotted and pure as were the archives of his military and civil career. The interval of years between the marriage of Washington and his appointment as commander-in-chief of the armies of the "Thirteen Colonies" was passed chiefly at Mount Vernon. His attention was much occupied and interested in the improvement of his estate, except when public affairs called him hence. The winter months during this time were usually spent in the capital of his native state, representing the interests of his county in the legislature. He took an early and decided part in the opposition made to the principle of taxation asserted by the British Parliament.

What is it we are contending against? Is it against paying threepence more for a pound of tea? Has it become burdensome? No; it is the right that we have always disputed. For years previous to the declaration of hostilities, there were continual altercations between the mother country, England, and her colonies, chiefly on account of taxation. Parliament declared the right to tax the colonies, inasmuch as much expense of treasure had been incurred during the French and Indian war, which war they alleged was for the protection and benefit of the colonies. The colonies claimed that they had borne their full share in the expenses of that war, both in blood and treasure. The two states, Virginia and Massachusetts, were foremost in declaring that there could be no taxation without representation. The meaning of this is that, as our country was not represented in the British Parliament, that body had no right to levy taxes upon a people who had no voice or votes in the matter. "It is the glory of England," says Guizot, "that she implanted beside the cradle of her colonies the germ of their freedom. They were endowed with charters, which conferred upon them the liberties of the mother country." One of the first measures that roused open resistance in America was the Stamp Act. This was a tax levied in the shape of a stamp on all records and deeds and public documents. My young readers will recollect that they see constantly, *now*, stamps affixed to many articles that they purchase, also to all receipts of money, except very small sums. This is a favorite mode which governments adopt to obtain a revenue; but they must understand that our present stamp acts

are the result of laws passed by our own state legislatures or by Congress. So intense was the indignation produced through all the American colonies by the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, that Parliament deemed it most prudent to repeal it the next year. Patrick Henry, in the legislature of Virginia, distinguished himself by his bold eloquence in opposition to this act. The colonial Congress, held in New York, representing nine colonies, adopted a declaration of their rights. They sent a petition to the king and a memorial to Parliament. No officials were bold enough when the day of action came to carry this obnoxious law into execution. The colonial merchants refused to import goods until the law was repealed. One year after the repeal of the Stamp Act, a tax was levied on glass, painters' colors, paper, and tea. The duties on all these were soon repealed, except the duty on tea. The tax was threepence per pound. The tea brought to New York and Philadelphia was sent back; that brought to Charleston, South Carolina, was stored in damp cellars, and consequently perished. The ship-loads brought to Boston produced the greatest commotions. Men disguised as Indians cast many chests of the precious article into the sea. As a punishment to Boston for this act and other measures, the Boston port-bill was passed, which prohibited intercourse with Boston by water. Two regiments of soldiers were sent from Halifax to Boston to overawe the transgressors. In September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia; Peyton Randolph was its president. This Congress recommended a suspension of commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Able state papers were sent to

the king and the people of England, but they thought not yet of separation. Washington was a member of this Congress. He said, in October, 1774, that he was convinced that not one thinking man in all North America desired independence. He earnestly desired to restore tranquillity on constitutional grounds, but his indignation at the wrongs of Boston could only be appeased by redress. "It is not the wish of that colony, or of any of our colonies, to set up for independence, but none of them will consent to the loss of rights, without which, life, liberty, and property are rendered insecure." Independence was not the premeditated design of the colonies, nor at first the object of their wishes.

CHAPTER IX.

Now I will unclasp a secret book,
And to your quick conceiving discontents
I'll read you matter deep and dangerous;
As full of peril and adventurous spirit
As to o'erwalk a current roaring loud,
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear!

To break off the established order of government, and to undertake the establishment of a new state, to *begin* an insurrection, is an act of most solemn import for such men as these were, or for any men of sense and virtue. The most far-sighted can never measure its whole extent; the most resolute would quail if they knew the entire danger. The greatest minds of England opposed, with all the argumentative eloquence they could use, the extreme measures of the king and his ministry. Chatham and his son William Pitt, Burke, Camden, Shelburne, Fox, and others

exerted themselves for conciliation. "It is not repealing a piece of parchment," said Lord Chatham, "that can restore America to our bosom; you must repeal her fears and her resentments, and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow that in all my reading, and I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world, but for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Throw down the weapons in your hands, remove the troops from Boston." Thus spoke the wise Lord Chatham. How beautiful the compliment he paid to the written protests of our forefathers! Notwithstanding the eloquence of Chatham and the close reasoning of Camden, the motion was rejected by a vote of sixty-eight to eighteen. The Duke of Cumberland, one of the king's brothers, voted with the minority. The hearts of that majority, like Pharaoh, were hardened. "The debates of that day," says Bancroft, "prove that the inevitable war was made with the ministry, and not with the British people." Dr. Franklin was then resident in London. He had heard with great admiration Lord Chatham's speech. He was now environed by danger. Some of the ministry affected to consider him the cause of the troubles of the colonies. Gage was his accuser from Boston, and Hutchinson, the former governor of Massachusetts,

then in London, his determined enemy. He knew himself to be in danger of arrest, yet he remained, hoping that his presence near the throne and ministry at this momentous time might be productive of good to his beloved country. The friends of the colonies entreated him to stay, as there was some glimmering of hope that the manufacturers and merchants of England would successfully interpose their mediating influence. But the day of Revolution was at hand. No man, or set of men, could resist the tide of events that surged over the land. The opposition of Boston to the arbitrary measures that had been imposed upon her was bold and heroic. Indeed, the whole country was agitated and roused to a spirit of resistance by the wrongs of Boston. Virginia looked to Washington as her adviser in military affairs. In December, 1774, the Maryland Convention, resting the security of free governments on a well-regulated militia, had recommended to the inhabitants of the province to form themselves into companies, under officers of their own choice, and had apportioned among the several counties ten thousand pounds in currency, to be raised by voluntary offerings, for the purchase of arms. This measure took the sword out of the hands of the governor, and directed the people to choose their own officers. The Virginians of the Fairfax county committee adopted almost the very words of these resolutions, and Washington, as the chairman of this Fairfax committee, published the Fairfax resolves, as they were called, under the sanction of his name. Every county in Virginia glowed with zeal to form its militia, yet Virginia loved to consider herself an integral part of the British empire. "England, with

all thy faults, I love thee still," was the feeling of many of her people. Though quick to resent aggression, they abhorred the experiment of changing the form of government, without some absolute necessity. Of all the colonies, it was the most open to attack. The bay of the Chesapeake, and the deep waters of the York, the James, and the Potomac, bared it to invasions from the sea. Virginia was now almost destitute of military stores, except a little powder in a magazine near Williamsburg. She had no military defenses. The late war with the Shawanese Indians had drained Virginia of her military resources, and left her largely in debt. Yet she met the coming storm with wonderful determination.

On the 20th of March, 1775, her second convention assembled at Richmond, at St. John's Church. It was then and there that Patrick Henry made his famous speech, reported by Mr. Wirt in his Life of Henry. He offered the resolution "that this colony be put in a posture of defense, and that the committee prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose." His speech was electrical, and produced a conflict of feelings and opinions in every breast. The thought of an actual conflict with the mother country was new and startling. "What," said Henry, "has there been in the conduct of Britain, for the last ten years, to justify a hope of reconciliation? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, that it must be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what others may do, but, as for me, 'Give me liberty, or give me death!'" He was supported by Richard Henry Lee, who made an

estimate of the force which Great Britain would employ against the colonies, and, after comparing it with their means of resistance, proclaimed that the auspices were good, adding, "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just." The resolutions were adopted to put the colony in a state of defense, and a committee appointed to give them effect. Henry, Lee, Jefferson, Washington, and others were members of this committee.

Before dissolving this convention, she appointed members to Congress in the following May. Before this Congress met, war was declared by the shedding of blood in Massachusetts. Dunmore was at this time colonial governor of Virginia. He seized the powder in the magazine at Williamsburg on the night of the 20th of April. As soon as it was discovered, the people sounded the alarm, and he was compelled to restore it.

On the 29th of April, six hundred well-armed men assembled in Fredericksburg, Virginia, pledging their lives and fortunes to resist all invasions of the rights of Virginia or of any of her sister colonies. This was the immediate consequence of Dunmore's violent acts. Washington and Peyton Randolph persuaded these men to disperse. A *message* from Massachusetts was already on the wing to apprise them that the battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought; that war had actually commenced. (You of my young readers, who remember the actual beginning and announcement of the war in 1861, can form a definite idea of the horror produced by such a message.) It was on the 19th of April, 1775, that Gen. Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, sent

soldiers to Concord to seize upon stores of ammunition collected in that place. Messengers had been sent in different directions by the patriots of Boston to inform the people on the road to Concord of the designs of the British general. When the regiment of eight hundred men, sent by Gage, reached Lexington, they found a party of minute-men on the common to intercept their progress. There were about seventy men, young and old, under the command of John Parker. He ordered his men to take care not to be the first to fire. Their guns were loaded with powder and ball. Major Pitcairn, who commanded the British regiment, cried out, a few rods distant, "Disperse, ye rebels; lay down your arms!" The countrymen, too few to resist, yet too brave to flee, stood motionless in the ranks. Pitcairn, seeing their determined stand, discharged a pistol, and then cried, "*Fire!*" The order was at first obeyed by a few guns, and afterward by a heavy discharge of musketry. Parker, seeing it was a field of slaughter rather than of battle, ordered his men to retire. Seven of the men of Lexington were killed and nine were wounded. The British troops halted less than thirty minutes on the village green, which they stained with blood, then marched on to Concord. The commanding officer had before dispatched six companies of infantry to take possession of the bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town. While the main detachment was employed in destroying the stores at Concord, minute-men and militia were assembling from the town and from all the country around. The king's troops were attacked on all sides—the hills seemed to swarm with rebels. Skirmish after skir-

mish ensued. When the retreating party reached Lexington, Lord Percy met them with a re-enforcement. This re-enforcement kept the provincials at a distance for a time, by their *field-pieces*, but as soon as the march recommenced, the attack of the provincials was redoubled. A galling fire was kept up from behind the stone fences until they reached Charleston, about sunset. In this action, or in the many skirmishes of that day (the 19th of April), the British are said to have lost two hundred and seventy-three men in killed and wounded. When we think of the immense masses of men that have been ranged in deadly strife against each other within the last ten years, both in our own beloved country and in Europe, the struggle of the 19th of April, 1775, may seem a trivial affair, but how important and sublime have been the consequences of the events of that day. It was the beginning of independence to this vast commonwealth. "C'est le premier pas qui coûte," says the French proverb. This first blow, or step, was now made, and all the people (with the exception of some thousands of loyalists) from Maine to Georgia felt that there was no retreating, unless, indeed, the mother country offered ample conciliation for the past.

CHAPTER X.

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, This is a man!"

Lord North, the Premier of England, offered measures which he deemed conciliatory, but they were rejected. Ticonderoga and Crown Point soon after surrendered to a small army under the command of Col. Ethan Allen and the famous Benedict Arnold. Military stores of considerable value fell into their hands. Arnold also obtained command of the lakes, by seizing a sloop of war lying at St. Johns. Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, alarmed by the ferment produced by his seizure of the powder, went on board the Fowey man-of-war, then lying in York river, a few miles below Williamsburg. He never returned to the seat of government, and thus ended forever the royal government of Virginia. In revenge for a defeat he received from a body of Virginians, whom he had attacked with a force of tories and negroes, he, on the first day of the new year, 1776, reduced the town of Norfolk to ashes. On the very day of the capture of Ticonderoga, May 10th, the second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia. Washington was a member of this Congress, and was placed on all the committees whose duty it was to make arrangements for defense. His military experience in early life, the solidity of his judgment, the steady firmness of his temper, the dignity of his deportment, his integrity and patriotism, together with his independent circumstances, seemed to designate Washington as the person to whom the destinies of his country

should be confided. He was unanimously appointed commander-in-chief of all the troops raised in the united colonies and all that should be raised. An army of twenty thousand men was ordered to be raised. Washington modestly consented to accept the momentous responsibilities imposed upon him. He declined all compensation for his services, but said he would keep an exact account of his expenses, expecting Congress to discharge the debts thus incurred. The appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief was made on the 15th of June, 1775. Congress made a solemn declaration to adhere to him through all the trying hours of the coming contest, pledging their lives and fortunes for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty. "Two things," says Guizot, "alike arduous and great, are part of the duty, and may constitute the glory of man: the one is to endure misfortune with resignation; the other to trust in a good cause with persevering confidence." Washington was, at the time of his appointment, forty-three years of age. In stature he rather exceeded six feet; his limbs were sinewy and well-proportioned; his chest broad; his figure stately, blending dignity of presence with ease. His complexion was florid; his hair dark-brown; his head in its shape was perfectly round. His dark-blue eyes, which were deeply set, had an appearance of resignation and an earnestness that was almost sadness. Whether Washington was a man of genius or a man of great military capacity, like Cæsar or Napoleon, has not been unfrequently agitated. No comparison can be drawn between characters so differently situated. Washington was compelled to be not only the

commander of an army, but the creator or organizer of it. Every detail was necessarily made under his inspection. There was no commissariat and no money in the treasury when he reached the army at Cambridge. From his early youth, he evinced more military capacity than his associates. The neglect of his advice cost Braddock his life, in 1755. The skill and energy visible in the operations of Forbes, by which the valley of the Ohio was recovered, has always been attributed to him. He could not trace with the pencil of the painter the glowing landscape, nor mold as a sculptor the marble. He was not a musician, nor was he an orator like Henry or Rutledge; but, by a wonderful combination of qualities of mind and heart, he created a nation. He had "an eye like Mars, to threaten and command." He was the *father* of his country. He was equal to all the trying emergencies that met him, not only as a general, but as a president. "What a relief," says Lord Brougham (after contemplating the character of Napoleon), "does the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experience when, turning from the contemplation of such a character, his eye rests upon the *greatest* man of any age—the only one upon whom the epithet so thoughtlessly lavished by men can be innocently and justly bestowed." Washington has been sometimes called the American Fabius, from an opinion that the art of avoiding general engagements, of deceiving the enemy by temporizing, was his peculiar taste and talent. (Fabius, my young readers must remember, was a wise, prudent Roman general, whose adversary was the greatest general of his age—the renowned Hannibal of Carthage. Fabius generally preferred to harass

and deceive his foes, than to meet them in a pitched battle. The battles of Trenton and Princeton show, that whenever it was practicable or possible Washington was anxious to assume the offensive. Bancroft says, in speaking of the religious feelings of Washington, he was profoundly impressed with confidence in God's Providence, and exemplary in his respect for the forms of public worship. No philosopher of the eighteenth century was more firm in the support of the freedom of religious opinions—none more remote from bigotry; but belief in God and trust in His overruling power formed the essence of his character. "He was a man of action, not of words; his creed appears in his life, not in his professions, which rarely burst from him except in those great moments of crisis, when earth and heaven seemed to meet, and his emotions became too intense for suppression; but his whole being was one continued act of faith in the eternal, intelligent, moral order of the universe." Integrity was so completely the law of his nature, that a planet would sooner have shot from its sphere than he have wandered from the path of uprightness, which was so constant that it seemed almost impersonal. This is very eloquent and very just, yet Washington's religion did not dwell in cold abstractions. He doubtless felt the need of all those helps which the church has provided for the sustenance and spiritual growth of her children. He was a man of prayer. It is said upon excellent authority, that he never went into battle without retiring first for secret prayer, when time and opportunity permitted. He obeyed the command of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me." He was a communicant of the Episcopal

Church, in which he had been educated. He was a regular attendant of the church in his neighborhood, when at home. When President of the United States, he was a member of the congregation which worshiped at Christ Church, Philadelphia, Bishop White being at that time the rector.

CHAPTER XI.

What constitutes a state?
Not high raised battlements or labored mound,
Thick walls or moated gates,
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned,
Not bays and broad armed ports,
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride.
No! men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
Who know their rights, and knowing dare maintain.

Upon the arrival of re-enforcements from England, under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Sir Henry Clinton, Gage issued a proclamation about the last of May, 1775, declaring all Americans in arms rebels and traitors, but offering pardon to those who should at once return to their allegiance. John Hancock and Samuel Adams were excepted from this offer. It was now evident that the British meditated offensive operations. The Provincial Congress now recommended the defense of Dorchester Neck and the occupation of a high piece of ground just within the peninsula, on which Charlestown stands. A detachment of one thousand men was sent under Col. Prescott to take possession, but Breed's Hill was marked out instead of Bunker's Hill for the proposed intrenchments. This party, by diligent work, threw up in one

night a square redoubt forty yards on each side. The ships of war stationed in the river near by, knew nothing of the fortification in progress. When daylight revealed the work done, a heavy cannonade was commenced. Gen. Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from this eminence, as it overlooked Boston. He sent Major-General Howe, with Pigot, at the head of ten companies of grenadiers and the same number of light infantry. They perceived the Americans stood their ground with firmness. They therefore awaited a re-enforcement from Boston in order to render the enterprise secure. During this interval, the Americans received re-enforcements under Generals Warren and Pomeroy; they also used this delay in pulling up post and rail fences, and arranging them in two parallel lines a small distance apart—the space was filled with hay, so as to form a cover from the musketry of the enemy. The British troops were formed in two lines. Being re-enforced, they advanced slowly under cover of a heavy discharge of cannon, frequently stopping to allow their artillery to destroy the works. While they were advancing, orders were given to set fire to Charlestown, a pretty village, which flanked their line of march. The scene of action was in full view of the heights of Boston and its neighborhood, which were covered with spectators taking deep and opposite interests in the awful spectacle before them. Twice the British ascended the hill within a few rods of the redoubt, and were each time repulsed with heavy loss. The third time they ascended, the Americans were forced to retreat for want of ammunition. The British lost in this action of Bunker Hill (as it is called) a thou-

sand men in killed and wounded. The Americans are said to have lost four hundred and fifty men. Among the killed was Dr Warren, a man greatly beloved. About three thousand of the British were engaged in this battle of Bunker Hill. The colonial force was stated through the country to have amounted to fifteen hundred men, though some say the American force was larger. The British considered it a victory, but it was dearly bought and fruitless. Nineteen commissioned British officers were among the killed and seventy among the wounded. The Americans retreated to Cambridge. Although the ground was lost, the Americans gained confidence in themselves and were greatly encouraged by the determined valor and intrepidity of their raw troops at Bunker Hill. Two armies were sent to Canada, to prevent the country being used as a place of rendezvous and supply for the British. Arnold commanded one division and Schuyler the other. Schuyler, however, soon declined on account of sickness. His place was filled by Montgomery, an officer much beloved. Arnold, after a most tedious march through the wilderness of Maine, reached Quebec. Quebec was besieged for three weeks, but the attempt to take it was unsuccessful. On the last day of 1775, the American army assailed the city in four columns. Montgomery fell and Arnold was severely wounded. Arnold effected a retreat and remained some time longer in Canada. By the middle of June, 1776, Canada was entirely evacuated by the Americans. Had Arnold fallen with Montgomery at the siege of Quebec, the darkest chapter in American history would never have been written. His character would have come

down to us as a brave man, full of talent and energy, and whose best efforts, amid great privations, had been used for the good of his country. To the memory of the heroic Richard Montgomery, a monument was raised in Philadelphia. In the British Parliament, the great defenders of liberty vied with each other in his praise. Barré, Burke, and Fox pronounced an affecting requiem in bewailing his fate. But for Arnold, the brave participator in the siege of Quebec, a traitor's grave was reserved, and a name consigned to infamy.

CHAPTER XII.

> See what a grace was seated on his brow:
> A combination and a form, indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal,
> To give the world assurance of a man.

On the 3d day of July, 1775, Washington assumed the command of the Continental army. His headquarters were at Cambridge. When Washington reconnoitered the enemy from Prospect Hill, he saw that they were strongly posted on Bunker's Hill. From this hill he took an extended view of Boston and Charlestown. Of the latter, nothing was to be seen but chimneys and rubbish. The main body of the British army was under the immediate command of Gen. Howe. Their sentries extended one hundred and fifty yards beyond Charlestown Neck. On Breed's Hill there was a redoubt; three floating batteries lay in Mystic river. A battery was planted on Copps' Hill, and a twenty-gun ship was anchored below the Charlestown Ferry. Boston was in the pos-

session of the British. There were nearly seven thousand Americans in the city, many of them pining with sorrow, exposed to many restrictions, and subjected to the malice of the soldiers. There were some royalists among the inhabitants. There were more than ten thousand in the British army at Boston; yet the commanding officer had never more than seven thousand effective men, in consequence of sickness, desertion, and other causes. But these soldiers were thoroughly trained, and well furnished with materials for war. The American army lay in a semicircle, from the west end of Dorchester to Malden, a distance of nine miles. This army lay on both sides of the Charles river. The commander disposed and organized the army in three divisions. The right wing was under the command of Maj. Gen. Ward, the left under Maj. Gen. Lee, and the center was under the immediate command of Washington. The American army presented a motley spectacle. The camp contained a people in arms rather than an army. The soldiers had enlisted under different agreements, and for periods indefinite, but short. No one could tell precisely its numbers, or the state of its stores. Each colony had its rules of military organization. There was little uniformity in dress or weapons, but their hearts were stout and brave. The American rolls promised seventeen thousand men, but not more than fourteen thousand men were fit for duty. Washington quickly saw the want of subordination, and the stupid confidence of inexperience, which pervaded not only the privates, but the inferior officers. Washington was alarmed to discover that a great mistake had been made with regard to the quantity of

powder they possessed. The greatest exertions were necessary to relieve this pressing want. Congress and all the colonial governments were called upon to supply their need.

CHAPTER XIII.

> Man's love is but a thing apart;
> 'T is woman's whole existence. Man may range
> The court, the camp, church, vessel, and the mart.
> Men have all these resources. *We* but one!

Soon after Washington assumed the command of the army at Cambridge, he invited Mrs. Washington to join him in the camp. Lord Dunmore had established martial law in Virginia, and it was feared by some that the favorite home of the rebel commander-in-chief would be marked out for hostility. The enemy might land from their ships in the Potomac, and lay it waste. Washington does not seem to have participated in this fear, yet he felt for his wife's loneliness, and wished her to be near him. Mr. Irving has given us a very graphic description of her equipage and of her journey to the camp near Boston. "Mrs Washington was accompanied by her son and his wife." She traveled by very easy stages, partly on account of the badness of the roads, and also out of regard to the horses, of which Washington was always very careful. Escorts of honor attended her from place to place. At Philadelphia she received the devoted attentions of the inhabitants. Her arrival at Cambridge was a glad event. The equipage in which she appeared was a chariot and four, with black postilions in black and scarlet liveries. It has been suggested that this was an English style of

equipage which the Washingtons derived from their neighbors, the Fairfaxes. But in truth it was a style quite prevalent in Virginia at that day, especially when a long journey was to be made. Some of the families in eastern or lower Virginia lived in much elegance and luxury previous to the Revolutionary war. There was some gaiety and entertainment at Cambridge, and in the vicinity, during Mrs. Washington's sojourn, although the stern realities of war were around them. There are some letters of Mrs. John Adams still extant, which relate with much naiveté the festivities of that period.

We will now give you an extract of a letter from Washington, written about this time, to his agent at Mount Vernon: "Let the hospitality of my house be kept up in *our* absence. With regard to the poor, let no one go hungry away. If any poor should be in want of corn, supply their necessities. I have no objection to your giving away when it can be well bestowed *charity*, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds. What I mean by having no objection, is that it is *my desire* that it should be done." Such traits as these can never be dimmed by the dust of ages. Little did our great and good Washington think, when he wrote this simple letter to his agent, that he was adding another gem to the crown of his fame, of soft, but enduring luster. We must now resume the thread of warlike events. Washington saw the necessity of driving the British from Boston. Several months passed away before the council of war consented to make the attempt. The first military maneuver of Washington, in the spring campaign of 1776, evinced his abilities. As soon as his army was recruited, he made a move-

ment as if intending to attack Boston. The attempt was merely a feint, and the garrison of the town discovered, to their astonishment, that in one night the whole chain of Dorchester Heights had been fortified. To frustrate every attempt at regaining them, hogsheads filled with stones had been chained together, to roll down upon the heads of assailants. In consequence of this fortification, Boston and its harbor became untenable.

Howe, who had succeeded Gage, determined quickly to evacuate the city. The Americans did not molest the retreating foe, on condition that the British should not burn Boston. The British left Boston on the 17th of March, 1776. They were accompanied by several hundred families of royalists. They sailed for Halifax. Washington entered the town in triumph, and *right joyful* were the people that Boston was delivered from its enemies. Howe remained but a short time at Halifax. He believed that New York presented superior advantages as a station for his army. His views were directed to Long Island, as he knew the country was fertile, and would afford supplies to his army. As had been foreseen by Washington, the great effort was now to be made on the Hudson. Lord Howe, brother of Gen. Howe, arrived at Halifax just after his brother had left it. He lost no time in joining him at Staten Island, of which island Gen. Howe had taken possession. These generals determined to use every effort to possess themselves of the Hudson river. This river would open communication with Canada, and enable them, in a great degree, to prevent intercourse between the Eastern and Southern States. Georgia had some time before en-

tered into the confederation. They were now the "Thirteen United Colonies." Gen. Washington *preceded* the Howes to New York. He left at Boston a small detachment, under Gen. Ward. On the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, Congress had elected four major-generals—Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam. Artemas Ward was an old man. When Ward received his appointment, he said, "I have been always ready to serve my country, and am still ready, notwithstanding my infirmities." Charles Lee, the son of an English officer, was for a time a great favorite with the American army. He was invested by them, in their generous confidence, with virtues which subsequent events prove he did not possess. Lee claimed to be versed in the science of war—a soldier of consummate ability, who had joined the American cause from the purest impulses of a generous nature. Gen. Charles Lee, the Englishman, must not be confounded with the family of Lee in Virginia, many members of which were so distinguished during the war, both in the cabinet and in the field. Charles Lee was regarded by the English as a deserter from their service. No position was too high for his conceit. Claiming to have passed through high military ranks, and to be a major-general of five years' standing, it is said he waited upon Congress with the hope of being made "commander-in-chief." Both Congress and the army seem to have been imposed upon by his assumptions, for several years. Ward's early resignation placed Lee next in command to Washington. The third major-general was Philip Schuyler, of New York. "He had little genius to control undisciplined men, or to penetrate the wiles of a crafty foe; he was

therefore destitute of qualities which largely contribute to form a great military character, but he possessed personal integrity, social consideration, and ardent patriotism. He willingly used his credit and influence and wide connections to bring out the resources of his native province." The fourth major-general was Israel Putnam, of Connecticut. His fame rested chiefly on deeds of personal prowess. He was brave, but had not the combination of qualities necessary in a general. His patriotism was ardent and his heart honest.

Next to these came Horatio Gates, an adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier. His experience qualified him for the organization of an army, but he was shallow in natural endowments and in military culture. He gained much celebrity from the victory of Saratoga, and the surrender of Burgoyne to him; but the brilliancy of his reputation was afterward much tarnished by his conduct during the Southern campaign. "There was only one general officer," says Bancroft, "when the continent took up arms, who drew to himself the love and trust of the country. Of the five generals next below Washington, not one was fit to succeed to his place."

CHAPTER XIV.

"There is a kind of character in thy life,
That to the observer doth thy history
Fully unfold: Thyself and thy belongings
Are not thine own so proper, as to waste
Thyself upon thy virtues, them on thee.
Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
Not light them for themselves;
Spirits are not finely touched, but to fine issues."

CONGRESS appointed, on the 21st of June, 1775, eight brigadiers. Pomeroy, who received the first appointment, retired from the camp on account of his age before he received his commission. The second brigadier was Richard Montgomery—*seventh* from Washington in rank, but *next* to him in merit. He was followed by David Wooster; then came William Heath; next to him was Joseph Spencer; then John Thomas, of Massachusetts, a good general officer; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, not free from defects and foibles, but enterprising, able, and spirited; the last was Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, who, after Washington, had no superior in natural resources, unless it were Montgomery. These were the men who led our armies in the Revolutionary struggle. Officers of inferior rank but of great merit soon became conspicuous. Morgan, the colonel of the Virginia riflemen, was a daring and most efficient officer; and Mercer, also of Virginia, who fell at Princeton, and Moultrie, Sumpter, and Marion, of South Carolina, acted most nobly and heroically. Gen. Knox, too, was a man of much military information and a good artillery officer. In 1777, Henry Lee, of Virginia, makes his appearance. His adventurous ex-

ploits and gallantry gained him the appellation of "Light Horse Harry." He was a great favorite with Washington throughout the war. The fame of the American struggle for independence brought foreign officers as candidates for admission into the patriot army. How and where to place these men, some of them of great merit, caused much embarrassment to the commander-in-chief. Their ignorance of our language was a great obstacle to their full efficiency. Washington was compelled to use much prudence in promoting the foreign officers, lest he should disgust our own men, who had already borne much privation and suffering. The most beloved of all the foreigners by Americans was the young Marquis de La Fayette. It was at a public dinner in Philadelphia, where a number of members of Congress were present, that Washington first saw La Fayette. The latter said that he immediately knew Washington, surrounded as he was by officers, from his commanding air and person. The marquis was not yet twenty years of age, but had already been married two years, to a lady of rank and fortune. Subsequent events proved this lady to be a model of conjugal devotion, and adorned with every pious and virtuous trait that makes woman estimable and lovely. The marquis, full of the romance of liberty, had torn himself from his youthful bride; he had turned away from the gaieties and splendors of a court, and in defiance of many impediments had made his way to America. La Fayette sent to Congress the following note: "After the sacrifices I have made, I have the right to ask two favors: one is to serve at my own expense; the other, to commence by serving as a vol-

unteer." His simple appeal induced Congress at once to make him major-general in the army of the United States. Among the officers who came with La Fayette was the Baron De Kalb. He also was made major-general. Colonel Conway, a native of Ireland, was another foreign officer who desired an appointment in the American army. He had served, he said, thirty years in the armies of France. Conway received the appointment of brigadier-general, of which he afterward proved himself unworthy. He was boastful and presumptuous, and became noted for his intrigues and for a *cabal* against the commander-in-chief. This conspiracy was entitled "Conway's Cabal." He afterward expressed great regret at his conduct; and wrote, when he considered himself dying, a penitent and apologetic letter to Washington. A candidate of a different stamp was the generous, gallant Kosciusko. He was a Pole, of an ancient family, and had been educated at the military school of Warsaw. He came to Washington with a letter from Dr. Franklin. "What do you seek here?" inquired the commander-in-chief. "To fight for American independence." "What can you do?" "Try me." Washington was pleased with his curt reply and with his chivalrous air and spirit, and at once received him into his family as aide-de-camp. Congress afterward appointed him an engineer, with the rank of colonel. He proved a valuable officer throughout the Revolution, and won an honorable name in our country. If my young readers are familiar with the poetry of Thomas Campbell, they will remember a pretty couplet in connection with Kos-

ciusko. In speaking of a disastrous battle in Poland, the poet says:

> "Hope, for a season, bade the world *farewell*,
> And freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell."

Another officer of distinguished merit, also a Pole, was Count Pulaski. He was recommended by Dr. Franklin as an officer whose bravery and conduct in defense of the liberties of his own country against Russia, Austria, and Prussia was celebrated throughout Europe. Pulaski afterward fell at the siege of Savannah. In 1778, Baron Steuben, through the persuasion of the French Minister of War, came to America and offered his services. The French were preparing to befriend the American cause, and they were anxious to secure the services of a thorough disciplinarian for American armies. Steuben, by Washington's direction, proceeded to Congress. His letters procured him a distinguished reception from the President of Congress. He offered his services as a volunteer, making no condition for rank or pay. His services were accepted by a committee appointed by Congress, with a vote of thanks for his disinterestedness, and he was ordered to go to Valley Forge. The army, in its squalid quarters and ragged condition, presented a miserable aspect to one who had been accustomed to the order and appointments of European camps. But the liberal mind of Steuben made every allowance, and Washington found him a consummate soldier. He was made inspector-general. The whole army was brought under drill. What proved a difficulty to the aide-de-camp of the great Frederick, was his ignorance of our language. Assistant inspectors were appointed, who were Frenchmen, understanding both

French and English, who acted as interpreters for him. The army gradually acquired, says Irving, a proper organization, and Washington found in the baron a disinterested, truthful coadjutor, well worthy of the badge he wore, as a knight of the Order of Fidelity.

CHAPTER XV.

Fear not each sudden sound and shock.
'T is of the wave, and not the rock;
'T is but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale.
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea;
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee.

We have now attempted to give you in the last few pages, not only a portrait of the master who laid the keel of our ship of state, but also sketches of many of his noble coadjutors. Washington quickly perceived the difficulties of his situation at New York. All the means in his power were employed in defending the city against the enemy but all his efforts were powerless against an enemy whose fleet commanded the sea. In order to prevent the enemy from ascending the Hudson, or penetrating the East river, hulks were sunk. Fortifications were thrown up on both sides of the Hudson, also the narrow passage between the islands, but all these precautions ultimately failed. While the war was thus boldly and vigorously carried on at the North, the Southern Colonies were not unemployed. Lord Dunmore was giving Virginia much trouble. He had collected a considerable naval force, and with the assistance of negroes, whom

he had induced to leave their masters, and any other forces he could procure, he commenced a predatory war. On New Year's day, 1776, Norfolk was laid in ashes by the royal governor, and Hampton was threatened. He was soon repulsed, however, by the bravery of the people, who forced him to flee to his ships. The Virginia forces, who repulsed Dunmore and his men, were under the command of Col. Woodford, assisted by John Marshall, as lieutenant, afterward Chief Justice of the United States. The first gun fired in Virginia against the British, was fired by George Nicholas, who commanded a party of Virginians, at one of the tenders sent by Dunmore to destroy Hampton. About the same time, Gen. Clinton, having been foiled in an attempt to take the city of New York, proceeded with a large force to Charleston, South Carolina. He was accompanied by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Peter Parker. The people of Charleston, anxious to save their city, determined to make a great effort to protect it. They erected a fort on Sullivan's Island of palmetto wood. This island commanded the channel leading to the city. The garrison consisted of five hundred men, under Col. Moultrie. The fleet approached the island, and after a conflict of nine hours, the ships, much shattered, drew off and sailed to the North. At one time during this conflict, Charles Lee, who had been sent to Charleston a short time previous with a few thousand men, crossed over to the island in a boat, to see if it would be best to withdraw or retreat. He found Moultrie and Motte so fearless and determined that he desisted from any counsel of this sort. When William Jasper, a sergeant, perceived that the flag had been cut down

by a ball from the enemy, and had fallen over the ramparts, "Colonel," said he to Moultrie, "do n't let us fight without a flag." "What can you do?" asked Moultrie. "The staff is broken off." "I 'll fix it to a halberd," said Jasper. Leaping through an embrasure, and braving the thickest fire from the ship, he took up the flag, returned with it safely, and planted it on the summit of the merlon. Victory crowned the efforts of these noble men at the close of the day. Of the four hundred and thirty-five Americans in the fort, who took part in this action, all but eleven remained alive, and but twenty-six were wounded. With this small cost of life had Charleston been defended and a province saved. The whole loss of the British fleet, in killed and wounded, was two hundred and five. The royal governors of the Carolinas, as well as Clinton and Cornwallis, and seven regiments, were witnesses of the defeat. The British commodore and General Clinton long indulged in reciprocal criminations. There had been no harmony between them from the beginning. South Carolina decreed that the fort on Sullivan's Island should be known as Fort Moultrie. This victory was gained on the 28th of June, 1776. Rutledge was appointed to return thanks to the defenders. He and Gadsden had sustained Moultrie throughout his trials, the former sending Moultrie during the siege, from Charleston, five hundred pounds of powder. To Jasper, a lieutenant's commission was offered, but he modestly declined, accepting only a sword. The tidings of the victory at Fort Moultrie were received at the North with great joy. But it was followed a few weeks after by a most serious disaster, at Long Island, New

York. In August of this year, 1776, General Howe, assisted by his brother, the Admiral, commenced an attack on Long Island. In three divisions, on three different roads, they advanced toward the American camp at Brooklyn, then under the command of General Putnam. The British army, together with a body of hired troops called Hessians (furnished by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel), consisted of thirty-five thousand men. Washington's army in the vicinity of New York was said to contain not more than seventeen thousand men. Major-General Greene, who was considered by his contemporaries the most able general, except Washington, in the American army, was sick, and his command was necessarily given to Major-General Sullivan. General Washington seeing that a battle must be fought, tried to prepare his troops for the emergency. He sought to rouse their valor and patriotism by stirring addresses to the troops. Notwithstanding his vigilance and his special directions that certain posts should be guarded and defended, many mistakes were made. As the action became warm, Washington passed over to the camp at Brooklyn, and beheld with anguish the inevitable destruction in which his best troops were involved. The carnage was great. He now directed his efforts to make a retreat, as the only alternative to save the remainder of his troops. Favored by a fog which hung over the island, he succeeded in making a safe retreat with his army to New York. This battle of Long Island was very disastrous. Some condemned the commander-in-chief, that he permitted the battle to be fought. The great value of the object to be obtained, the possession and the defense

of the city of New York and Long Island, seemed to call for great effort and even risk for its attainment. About two thousand Americans were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Major-General Sullivan was among the prisoners. The British loss was not more than four hundred.

Had Washington relinquished Long Island without an effort to keep it, the censure would have been more general. There was doubtless a defect in the construction of the army. There was not a body of cavalry present; there were no videttes to watch the motions of the enemy. Congress, however, and not the commander, must be blamed for these defects. Gen. Washington had often remonstrated with Congress with regard to the construction of the army. He insisted on longer enlistments, and declared that, unless the army could be endued with more permanency in its organization, their cause would be lost. After the defeat at Long Island, whole regiments of militia left the army. Congress was now convinced that a new plan of military operations must be adopted. A permanent army of eighty-eight battalions was proposed to be raised by the different states, in proportion to their ability. Bounties were offered as inducements to enlist. Virginia was expected to furnish fifteen battalions; Pennsylvania, twelve; Massachusetts, fifteen battalions; New York, *four;* North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Maryland, eight battalions; Connecticut, eight; New Jersey, four; New Hampshire, three; Rhode Island, *two;* Delaware, but one battalion; Georgia, *one*. How different would be the quotas of troops in these days, were requisition now to be made!

CHAPTER XVI.

Why look you sad?
Be great in act, as you have been in thought:
Let not the world see fear and sad distrust—
Govern the motion of a kingly eye.

Lord Howe, soon after his great victory at Long Island, opened communications with Congress, with the purpose, if possible, of compromising the dispute between Britain and America. Gen. Sullivan, their prisoner, was sent, on parole, to Congress. A committee of three was sent by Congress to confer with Lord Howe. Mr. Rutledge, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin met Lord Howe on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, on the 11th of September, 1776. He received them as private gentlemen, not as a committee of Congress. The negotiation was fruitless. The time had passed by when Americans would consent to return to the domination of Britain. On the 4th of July, two months previous, the American Congress had declared her independence, and had sent out to the world her famous "Declaration of Independence," declaring in this instrument the causes which led to the separation, justifying the act to the civilized world by arguments effective and incontrovertible.

After the battle of Long Island, Washington retreated first to the northern part of New York Island, and then to White Plains. At White Plains an unsuccessful engagement occurred, and Washington retreated to North Castle. Lee remained at North Castle, with a detachment; Col. Magaw, at Fort Washington; Gen. Heath, at Peekskill. Washing-

ton then crossed the Hudson into New Jersey. The Americans had two forts on the Hudson—Fort Washington and Fort Lee. Washington had given discretionary power to Gen. Greene as to the policy of holding Fort Washington. Greene thought the fort could be held, but, so formidable was the attack made by the British, that it was forced to surrender. Fort Lee was then evacuated by necessity. Marshall says: "Among the many valuable traits in the character of Washington was his unyielding firmness, which resisted these accumulated circumstances of depression, and which supported him under them, undismayed by the dangers that surrounded him. He did not relax his exertions for an instant, nor omit anything which could obstruct the progress of the enemy or meliorate the condition of his army. He would not despair of the public safety, but struggled heroically against adverse fortune with the hope of vanquishing difficulties. He appeared before his enfeebled and harassed army with a serene unembarrassed countenance, betraying no fears in himself, and invigorating and inspiring with confidence the bosoms of others. To this firmness of temper, to this perfect self-possession, is America in a great degree indebted for her independence." We believe that Washington was a chosen instrument in the hands of God to lead his countrymen to independence, or his faith would never have been so unflinching in the dark trying hours through which he was called to pass. His feeble army was pressed upon by the British army, from place to place, throughout New Jersey. Washington became very anxious about the safety of Philadelphia. His militia were deserting

him at every opportunity; his regulars were badly armed, badly clad, without tents or blankets, and destitute of utensils for preparing their food. In the cold winter of November and December, 1776, Washington found himself at the head of a small band, dispirited by losses and fatigues, retreating, almost naked and barefooted, before a numerous and well-appointed, victorious army. At this crisis, the British generals sent broadcast through the land offers and proclamations of pardon to all who would return to their allegiance in sixty days. The splendid appearance of the pursuing army, and the *beggarly aspect* of the Americans, made many faint hearts suppose that the contest would soon end. But He "who holds the nations in His hand" had not so determined. The exertions of Gen. Mifflin, who had been commissioned to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, met with some success in Philadelphia. A large proportion of that city, capable of bearing arms, had formed an association for the defense of their country. Fifteen hundred of these joined Washington at Trenton, also a German battalion. Cornwallis was now rapidly approaching him. He therefore crossed the Delaware with as much rapidity as was consistent with saving the tents and breaking down the bridges. As the rear guard of the American army crossed the river, the van of the British army appeared in sight.

CHAPTER XVII.

How blind is pride! What eagles are we still,
In matters that belong to other men,
What beetles in our own!
His soul, like bark with rudder lost,
On passion's changeful tide was tost.

Gen. Charles Lee was repeatedly urged by his commander to rejoin him and the main army, but he nevertheless proceeded by slow marches, with an obvious disposition to retain a separate command. While marching through Morris county, he indiscreetly quartered his forces, with a small guard, but three miles from the British army. Before Lee had an intimation of the approach of an enemy, Col. Harcourt, with a body of British cavalry, surrounded him and took him prisoner. This imprisonment of Lee was regarded as a great misfortune by those who still considered him a general of experience and ability. Gen. Washington regretted it on account of his personal feelings and because of the public interest. He was not yet fully aware of Lee's selfish and unscrupulous character. Gen. Sullivan now obeyed with alacrity the orders that had been sent to Lee, as he was next in rank. Gen. Gates joined his commander also on the same day.

Lord Cornwallis had failed to get boats to transport his army across the Delaware. This, for the time, saved Philadelphia. He now seemed preparing to go into winter-quarters. His troops were distributed at various places, from the Delaware to the Hackensack. Gen. Howe's object, in covering New Jersey with his troops, was to impede recruiting. To counteract this object, three regiments, together with eight hundred

New Jersey militia, were ordered to remain at Morristown. Gen. Maxwell commanded these troops.

Gen. Washington, fearing that Gen. Howe would pass the Delaware as soon as it was frozen over, and seize Philadelphia, resolved upon the seeming desperate expedient of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking at the same time all the British posts on the Delaware. To effect this, on the night of the 25th of December, he determined to cross about nine miles above Trenton. Gen. Irvine was to cross at the Trenton Ferry, and Gen. Cadwallader opposite to Burlington. It was arranged that three divisions were to cross at the same time. Washington, with great difficulty, succeeded in crossing with the men in his division, but the other two divisions failed to execute their part, in consequence of the floating ice and extreme cold. The cold on the night of the 25th was unusually severe, and the rain, hail, and snow fell in great quantities. Washington's army, consisting of twenty-four hundred men, separated after the crossing, and marched in two divisions to Trenton. Washington commanded the upper division. As soon as he arrived, he heard the firing of his other division, which had come by the river road. A severe action commenced. Capt. Rahl, who commanded at Trenton, was mortally wounded. His men, in much confusion, attempted to escape by the road to Princeton, but Washington threw a detachment in their front, and intercepted them. More than nine hundred prisoners were taken, six field-pieces, and a thousand stand of arms. About twenty of the enemy were killed. The American loss was trifling. This bold, vigorous movement of Washington took the enemy at Trenton by sur-

prise, and greatly astonished the whole British army. The exhilaration of the Americans was in proportion to the surprise of the British. The American cause, just previous to the battle of Trenton, had been deemed almost desperate. Washington had been deserted by all the troops whose period of enlistment had expired. Some were determined, it was reported, not to permit the sixty days to expire before they accepted the pardon of Lord Howe. Cadwallader crossed the next day, and took post on the Jersey shore. Irvine and Mifflin crossed also, with about fifteen hundred men. Washington, encouraged by his increased force, determined to make an effort to recover the whole or a great part of Jersey. He now abandoned the Delaware, and marched by a circuitous route to Princeton. They decamped with perfect secrecy in the night, leaving their watch-fires burning and the sentries making their usual rounds. About sunrise, the American army met three British regiments. A severe action ensued, in which the gallant Gen. Mercer, of Virginia, was mortally wounded, while endeavoring to rally his troops. The death of Mercer was a great grief to Washington. They had served together in the French and Indian wars. The main body of the army under Washington came up opportunely in the rear, and changed the fortune of the day. Another victory was gained! He was well supported by the troops who had a few days previous saved their country at Trenton. The British gave way, and Washington pressed on to Princeton. The regiments at Princeton saved themselves by a precipitate retreat to Brunswick. More than one hundred of the enemy were killed and three hundred were

taken prisoners. This engagement is called in history the battle of Princeton. The bold and unexpected attacks made at Trenton and Princeton, had an influence on the fate of the war much more extensive in its consequences than might be supposed from a mere estimate of the killed and of the prisoners. These successes revived the drooping spirits of the American people, and gave a new impulse to the recruiting service. Philadelphia was saved for that winter, 1777, and the State of New Jersey was recovered. Washington commanded an army with some hearts as true and as brave and bold as his own, but on him rested the tremendous responsibility of the leader of an army without discipline or permanency, without proper arms or sufficient *funds*. He was encouraged and sustained by the hope that by *self-sacrifice*, he might accomplish a grand, glorious work. The dignity of his position gave to his undertaking a sublime interest. Dr. Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee were sent to France to solicit aid, early in 1776. The government of France hesitated, but the generous La Fayette, as we have before said, fitted out a ship in December, 1776, at his own expense. He was accompanied by De Kalb and twelve French officers. How remarkable was the destiny of La Fayette. He figured conspicuously in the grandest and most varied dramas of political history. He tried to act as a pacificator in the terrible revolution of his own country, in 1789. The jealousy of tyrants consigned him to a prison for two years, in Olmutz, Austria. In 1824, he revisited the United States, the land for which he had shed his blood in his youth. No Roman consul was ever received or followed by

more rejoicing triumphant processions than was this great, good man. In 1830, the people of France asked him to select a ruler for them. He advised them to make Louis Philippe their king. To return to our history. In April, 1777, an expedition was planned by the British against Danbury, where there were valuable stores and tents. The detachment consisted of about eighteen hundred men. The invading party were soon obliged to retire by a different route, as the people in the neighborhood were in motion. They retreated hastily, like the expedition to Concord, in 1775. By a quick march, Arnold and Silliman confronted them at Ridgefield with four hundred men, while two hundred men under Wooster hung on their rear. Wooster, then in his sixty-eighth year, fell at the head of his men mortally wounded, but not until he had taken a considerable number of prisoners. Arnold's horse was killed under him. A British soldier, seeing him alone and entangled, advanced on him with fixed bayonet. Arnold drew a pistol, shot the soldier, and retired unhurt. The British were sorely pressed in their retreat by Lamb's battalion of artillery, and by Silliman and Arnold. For three days and nights they (the British) had little rest, until they reached their ships and embarked, protected by an able British detachment commanded by Erskine. The killed and wounded of the British are said to have amounted to two hundred, the Americans losing about half as many. Arnold, in braving the enemy's musketry and grape-shot a second time, had another horse killed under him. Congress, who at Washington's advice had elected Arnold a major-general, now voted him a horse caparisoned as a token of their approbation of

his gallant conduct, but they refused to restore him to his former relative rank; therefore, a sense of wrong rankled in his breast. Congress voted a monument to Wooster, who lingered a few days, ending a long and honorable life. About the same time, the Americans, under Col. Meigs, destroyed some British stores at Sag Harbor, and Col. Benton captured Gen. Prescott, in Rhode Island.

CHAPTER XVIII.

I see them on their winding way,
About their ranks the moonbeams play.
Their lofty deeds and daring high
Blend with the notes of *victory;*
And waving arms and banners bright
Are glancing in the mellow light.

In 1777, the army was encamped at Morristown, New Jersey. In the spring, it was removed to Middlebrook. Howe, after withdrawing his troops from New Jersey, established himself on Staten Island. Eighteen thousand men were now embarked on board the fleet of Lord Howe, who sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, but had previously landed the troops, who were on their march to Philadelphia. Washington hastened to dispute the progress of the British, and, with a large portion of his army, took a position at *Chad's Ford*, on Brandywine creek, where, on the 11th of September, 1777, a battle was fought. This battle was fought chiefly for the protection of Philadelphia, but it was a defeat. The undisciplined raw troops were thrown into confusion, and, while a portion of the army defended themselves with great valor, they were forced to give way. Count Pulaski, the Pole, of

whom we have spoken, was in this battle. Washington made vigorous efforts to save Philadelphia. Gen. Wayne was sent with fifteen hundred men to hang upon the rear of Howe's army, but he was defeated at Paoli. On the 26th of September, Howe entered Philadelphia. A large detachment of Howe's army encamped at Germantown. Washington attacked this force, on the 4th of October, but was repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. Two forts on the Delaware commanded that river—Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. Count Donop, a Hessian officer, attacked Fort Mercer. Fort Mifflin was also attacked, but the assailants of both forts were repulsed with heavy loss. Count Donop was mortally wounded; about five hundred Hessians were killed, and two ships destroyed. A few weeks after, however, both these forts were abandoned by the Americans. During the winter of 1777–78, the Americans were encamped at Valley Forge, a town in Pennsylvania, on the Schuylkill. This was a time of great suffering to our troops. Some of the officers, in great need, resigned their command. As the men moved toward their winter resting-place, at Valley Forge, they had not sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness, nor blankets to lie on, nor tents to sleep under. Their marches through frost and snow might be traced by the blood from their feet. "From his life in the woods, Washington could see through the trees a town of log-cabins, in regular streets, affording sufficient shelter to save the army from dispersion. Had it not been for the love of country, for the patriotism of the soldiers, and their devotion to their leader, the army would have dissolved and vanished at this time."

Washington's vigilance was unsleeping, to guard his army from surprises. On the 19th of August, 1777, Gates had assumed the command of the Northern army, which lay a few miles above Albany, near the mouth of the Mohawk. He, in conjunction with Arnold and Morgan and a force of nine thousand men, gained a splendid victory over Burgoyne, Fraser, and Riedesel, with his Brunswick troops. The battle was fought on the 19th of September, on the Hudson, near Stillwater or Saratoga. Gen. Burgoyne had formed a plan for penetrating by the lakes to the north of Hudson river, as far as Albany, in order to cut off the communication between the North and South. His army consisted of more than seven thousand men, besides a regiment of Canadians and several tribes of Indians. Before reaching Saratoga, his army began to suffer for provisions. A detachment he sent to Bennington, to procure stores, met with a severe defeat from Gen. Stark. After the battle of the 19th of September, the condition of Burgoyne was very perplexing. While the British army declined, Gates was constantly re-enforced. At length, on the 13th of October, Burgoyne surrendered. The number surrendered was nearly six thousand men, together with eighteen hundred prisoners of war abandoned to the Americans. Forty-two pieces of the best brass ordnance fell into their hands. The total loss of the British, in this surrender, was nearly ten thousand men. This great victory is known in history as the battle of Saratoga. In the report of this action, Gates commended *Arnold*, with Morgan, of Virginia, who commanded a body of Virginia riflemen, and Gen. Dearborn. Bancroft says: "On this decisive day, men from the

valley of Virginia, from New York, and from New England fought with one spirit for a common cause." We have seen a very life-like, expressive picture, representing the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates. It is in the rotunda of the Capitol, at Washington. The splendid uniform of the British general finely contrasts with the plain, somber dress of Gates. Morgan and his men, dressed in hunting-shirts, are looking grandly on without a particle of exultation in their countenances. What a sublime interest must have invested all the American participants in that hour of success!

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne was received in Europe, France acknowledged the independence of America, and promised immediate assistance. Spain, too, united with France. When the Marquis de La Fayette obtained permission to revisit his native country, he retained, with his rank in the American army, an ardent zeal for her interests. He hastened to the court of Versailles, where he was received with favor and distinction. He earnestly sought to impress the cabinet with the importance and policy of granting assistance to the United States. Having succeeded in his favorite object, and finding no probability of active employment in his own country, he returned to America with the grateful intelligence that she would soon receive succor from France. He arrived late in April, at Boston, and hastened to headquarters. The intelligence brought by the marquis gave a new impulse both to Congress and the state legislatures. A requisition was now made on all the states, from New Hampshire to Virginia inclusive, for ten millions of dollars. The sums, when raised, were to be sa-

credly appropriated to bringing an army into the fieldr On the 11th of July, 1780, intelligence was brought that a large French fleet had been seen between the capes of Virginia and the Delaware. The French armament soon after arrived at Newport, in Rhode Island. The Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay were the officers commanding the land and naval forces of France in Newport. A second division of the army waited at Brest, for transports, and might soon be expected. Warm professions of esteem and confidence passed between the American and French commanders. Gen. Washington recommended to his officers, as a symbol of affection and friendship toward their *allies*, to engraft on the American cockade, which was black, a white relief, this being the color of the French cockade. De Ternay commanded a squadron of seven sail of the line and five smaller armed vessels. This force was superior to that of Admiral Arbuthnot, who lay at New York with only four ships; but three days after de Ternay reached Newport, Admiral Graves arrived with six ships of the line, which reversed the superiority of the forces. De Ternay looked with anxiety for the re-enforcement from Brest.

On the first arrival of the Count de Rochambeau, he had been put in possession of all the forts and batteries in and about Newport. Arbuthnot, seeing that the French ships and frigates were moored in a line from Rhode Island to the Connecticut shore, so as to act in conjunction with the land forces, concluded to remain at his station off Block Island. Sir Henry Clinton was anxious, meanwhile, to attack Newport, and had made preparations to embark six thousand

troops for this purpose; but Arbuthnot disapproved a combined attack by land and sea. Clinton, therefore, postponed his design, but encamped near the shore, and retained his transports for any enterprise that might be deemed proper. Gen. Washington was at this time near the Passaic, in Jersey. He, understanding Clinton's designs, communicated them to Rochambeau. As it was not practicable for Washington to unite his troops with Rochambeau, he determined to attempt a rapid movement against New York, with the view of compelling Sir Henry Clinton to abandon the plans he had formed against Rhode Island. Washington collected an army of ten thousand men, and was in full march toward Kingsbridge, when Clinton suddenly returned, thus disappointing the hopes of Washington that New York was weakly defended. Count D'Estaing arrived in July, in Delaware Bay. Lord Howe had a short time before sailed from this bay. The count had been eighty-seven days crossing the ocean. Had he arrived a few days earlier, he would have inevitably destroyed the British fleet, so decided was the superiority of the French force. On D'Estaing's arrival within the capes of the Delaware, finding his plans disconcerted, he sailed to Rhode Island, intending to attack the English fleet as soon as it appeared off the coast. Lord Howe followed him there, having received re-enforcements. A violent tempest came on while the hostile fleets made ready for action, which separated and damaged the two fleets so severely that an engagement was rendered impracticable. Both naval armaments left Rhode Island in order to refit. Gen. Sullivan was greatly discour-

aged at the departure of the French fleet; many of his volunteers deserted him, and he was forced to retreat. Lord Howe, shortly after this time, resigned his commission, and returned to England. Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia in June, marching through New Jersey to New York. At Monmouth the two armies met and had a severe conflict. Lee had been exchanged a short time previous to this battle. Lee's division was in retreat when Washington met them. He reproved Lee with some severity and insisted that he should return to the field at Monmouth. He obeyed the order and fought well. The advantage in this battle was with the Americans, who slept on their arms, supposing the battle would be renewed in the morning, but Clinton retreated before dawn. Lee's pride was wounded by the rebuke he received from his commander. He wrote disrespectful letters to Washington, for which discourtesy, he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be suspended from his command for one year. He never rejoined the army. The transaction at Monmouth is another proof of the commanding influence of Washington over men, and also evinces that the confidence that Washington had once reposed in Gen. Charles Lee had greatly declined. Sullivan, in August, gained an advantage over Pigot, on the island of Rhode Island. In July of this year, 1779, a body of tories and Indians devastated the valley of Wyoming on the Susquehanna river. From the incidents connected with this atrocious massacre at Wyoming, Campbell has made a beautiful poem, called "Gertrude of Wyoming."

CHAPTER XIX.

So do the dark in soul expire,
Or live like scorpions girt by fire.
So writhes the mind, remorse has riven—
Unfit for earth, undoomed for heaven.

ARNOLD took command of the city of Philadelphia, in 1778, after the British had evacuated it. He, during his residence in that city, is said to have contracted large debts, and in order to liquidate them had appropriated public funds. Arnold was tried for these alleged misdemeanors, and in conformity with the decision of the court, he was reprimanded by Washington. He never forgave the reproof. He complained that his services in the war had not been duly appreciated. Washington, willing to soothe his feelings, as a soldier of great merit, and remove his disgrace, gave to him the responsible command of West Point. His courage in battle and his patient fortitude under hardships had secured for him a high place in the opinion of the army. He was at this time unfit for active service, in consequence of wounds received in Canada and at Saratoga. His claims against the United States were great, but the commissioners to whom his accounts were referred for settlement, reduced them considerably. He therefore appealed from their decision to Congress. Congress, through a committee, reported that the sum allowed by the commissioners was more than he was entitled to receive. His trial had lasted from June, 1778, to the 26th of January, 1779. From the time that the sentence against him was approved, and his general requested to reprimand him, it is probable

that his proud, unprincipled spirit revolted from the cause of his country. Thus soured and disgusted, he commenced his career at West Point. The preservation of this important post had been the principal object of more than one campaign, and its loss, it was believed, would enfeeble all the military operations. West Point was peculiarly interesting to the State of New York, and in this state, Arnold's reputation as a great captain was particularly high. Washington was solicited by Arnold's friends to give him this post; also, Arnold himself made a personal appeal to his commander-in-chief. It is stated by Marshall, that Arnold, in a letter to Col. Robinson, previous to his solicitation of this post, intimated a change of principles, and expressed a wish to regain the favor of his prince by some proof of his repentance. This fact, then, has induced the belief that Arnold desired this fortress as an acquisition which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his countrymen and his former friends. To solicit power, that we may abuse it, is surely the climax of human baseness. Revenge, too, is the spirit of a demoniac; it is more tormenting to the possessed than to the victim; it is a poisoned chalice commended to other lips, but the dregs of which are wrung out and swallowed by him who offers it. In consequence of the letter to Robinson, who was a tory, a correspondence was opened with Sir Henry Clinton, the immediate object of which was to arrange the means of putting the important post of West Point into the possession of the British general. A personal interview with an intelligent, responsible person became necessary for the maturing of the nefarious plan, and

Clinton selected Major André, an officer who held a high place in the esteem and affections of his general, for this dangerous mission. André became a *spy*, that he might confer, as he supposed, a great benefit on his country. In the morals of a war code, *deception*, that can benefit friends and injure foes, is considered right and justifiable. Therefore, the name and fame of this emissary of the British general has come down to us untarnished. History and tradition have invested him with the virtues and accomplishments of a hero of romance. There was no romance in his death; he died like a felon. He begged that he might be shot, but the rigorous prudence of the laws of war refused his request. The sympathetic reader passes rapidly over this dark page of American history, not so much on account of the painful, dastardly fall of Arnold, the traitor, from his high estate, as on account of the deep sympathy felt for the sad death of the young, promising British officer. In our haste to get through this part of our subject, we have unwittingly anticipated the result without first relating the circumstances of the detention and arrest of André. The place appointed for the interview between Arnold and André was *without* the American posts. After the plans were all arranged, circumstances rendered it impossible for André to return to New York by water. He had ascended the river in the sloop Vulture, but he was compelled to return by land. With a pass or permit given him by Arnold, he had passed without suspicion (he was now dressed in plain clothes) through all the guards and posts on the road, and was proceeding to New York, as he deemed with perfect security, when one of three militia-men, who were employed

as scouts between the lines of the two armies, sprang suddenly before him and seized the reins of his horse. These young men, whose names were Van Wert, Williams, and Paulding, soon comprehended the importance of the capture they had made. André offered them a purse of gold and his watch, and made many tempting promises of reward and permanent provision from his government, if they would permit him to escape; but they rejected his offers without hesitation, and manfully resisted the sympathy which sprang up in their hearts for the unfortunate young man. They proceeded to search him. They found concealed in his boots exact returns, in Arnold's handwriting, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defenses at West Point. They conducted André to the nearest military post, at North Castle, before Lieut. Col. Jamieson. This officer, faithful himself, rejected the suspicion that Arnold could be a traitor. André, still maintaining the character and name he had assumed, requested Jamieson to send an express to Arnold, informing him that *Anderson* had been taken. Arnold at once saw his danger, and, flying from the punishment he merited, took refuge on board the Vulture, and proceeded to New York. When André supposed that Arnold had had sufficient time to make his escape, he no longer affected disguise or concealment, but acknowledged himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army. Jamieson, anxious to retrieve any mischief which his incredulity might have caused, now hastened to send to the commander-in-chief the package which contained all the papers that had been discovered. Some time elapsed, owing to untoward circumstances, before these papers were received. Meanwhile,

Arnold had made sure his escape. Every precaution was now taken for the security of West Point. Sir Henry Clinton, however, undertook no enterprise against it, believing that the defection was confined to Arnold himself. A board of general officers, of which Major-Gen. Greene was president, assisted by La Fayette and Steuben, was called upon to report the case of the unhappy André, and to determine in what character he must be considered, and to what punishment he was liable. The candor and magnanimity of André made a favorable impression upon all with whom he had intercourse. His frankness precluded the necessity of an examination of witnesses. Major André was declared a spy by his board of examiners. The execution of the sentence was ordered on the succeeding day to that on which it was rendered. There is a letter extant, written at the time of his execution by Col. Hamilton, who describes the character of André as singularly interesting, embellished by rare attainments and accomplishments. But he could not be saved from his sad fate! Had the traitor been taken, it is probable André's life would have been spared. It was thought necessary that an *example* must be made. He encountered his fate with fortitude. A hundred years nearly have passed away since this tragical event, yet time has not obliterated the vividness of the mournful fact. Great exertions were made by Henry Clinton. Arnold, too, had the hardihood to write to Washington in André's behalf. His interposition was unnoticed. Washington conveyed Mrs. Arnold to her husband, and transmitted to him his clothes and baggage. Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British army, but rank could

not rescue him from merited contempt and detestation. Arnold published an address to the American people, in which he labored to palliate his guilt. He afterward committed great excesses in ravaging with fire and sword his native state, Connecticut. He also devastated the coast of Virginia. Arnold was the only traitor among American officers through all the hardships, privations, and irritations of the American war. The thanks of Congress were voted to the three militia-men, who had rendered the invaluable service of exposing a deep-laid conspiracy. A medal, with a suitable inscription expressive of their fidelity and patriotism, was presented to each. Two hundred dollars per annum were to be paid to each of them in specie. This small sum, for *so* great a service, proves the poverty of the public treasury at this time. Washington made continuous efforts to obtain a permanent military force. He had opposed short enlistments from the beginning of the war. One portion of Congress seemed to be jealous of the army and apprehensive of its hostility to liberty when *peace* should be restored. Such persons were unwilling to give stability to the army by increasing the numbers who were to serve during the war. How unjust to the American soldiery, and how unnecessary were such fears, the conclusion of the war proved. These fears were not altogether unreasonable, when it is recollected how dangerous and destructive to liberty great armies have proved under successful generals. But they should have better understood the honest patriotism of their countrymen, and the self-abnegation of their noble commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER XX.

"They fought like brave men, long and well."

In the latter part of 1778, the war had been prosecuted with great vigor in the Southern States. In the beginning of 1779, few posts remained in the hands of the Americans. There were, however, many alternations of victory and defeat. Col. Pickens defeated an army of tories and British, at Kettle creek, as he was defeated by the British general, Prevost, at Brier creek. At Stony Ferry, also, the Americans were repulsed. Clinton, at the North, had captured Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. Stony Point was afterward recaptured by Wayne, by a very brilliant exploit. The loss of the enemy in this adventure was six hundred. The Americans lost only fifteen killed and eighty wounded. Major Harry Lee surprised a post at Paulus Hook and took one hundred and fifty prisoners. Sullivan had been successful in checking the depredations of the Indians in western New York. He had been sent thither to avenge "the massacre at Wyoming." In the battle of the Chemung, he had destroyed forty villages of the Indians, and a large quantity of corn. Such are the horrid concomitants of war! In September, 1779, Paul Jones, with a small squadron of American and French vessels, took two British frigates. This action lasted from seven to ten at night. Count D'Estaing, in September, 1779, appeared before Savannah. He expected, in co-operation with Gen. Lincoln, to recover Savannah. It was besieged for three weeks, and closed with a disastrous assault. Count Pulaski, so famous for his virtues and misfortunes, received his death-wound at

the siege of Savannah. He had been made general of the American cavalry some time previous. In 1780, the war was chiefly carried on in the Carolinas. Clinton appeared before Charleston, and commenced a regular siege. He sent also expeditions into the interior. Battle after battle ensued. An American corps stationed at Monk's Corners were surprised and put to flight by Tarleton. This officer was abhorred by Americans for his alleged cruelties. At Washaw he overtook a body of patriots, and massacred or maimed all who fell into his power. Gen. Lincoln, after an obstinate and heroic defense of forty days, surrendered Charleston. After the surrender, Sir Henry Clinton, supposing that he had conquered South Carolina, proceeded to New York, leaving Cornwallis to carry the war into North Carolina and Virginia. Carolina, however, was not subdued. Gens. Marion and Sumpter kept up an active guerilla warfare, that required the British officers to be on the alert. At King's Mountain, Col. Campbell, with a force hastily raised for the occasion, met Ferguson, who was mortally wounded, and many of his men were wounded and taken prisoners. Gen. Gates, after his brilliant success at Saratoga, had been appointed to the command of the Southern Department. After a terrible conflict, Gen. Gates met with a disastrous defeat at Camden. So dissatisfied was Congress at his management and conduct in the battle of Camden, that it passed a resolution requiring the commander-in-chief to order a court of inquiry on the conduct of Major-Gen. Gates, as commander of the Southern army, and to appoint some other officer to that command until such inquiry should be made.

The choice of an officer for the Southern Department was submitted to Gen. Washington. He unhesitatingly recommended Major-Gen. Greene for this important field. Major Lee (Light-horse Harry) was made lieutenant-colonel of a legion, and ordered to join the Southern army. The brave Baron De Kalb was mortally wounded at Camden. After the British success at Camden, Sumpter was pursued by Tarleton and defeated with considerable loss. As soon as Gen. Greene was appointed to the command of the South, he promptly sent Gen. Morgan to check the course of the British. The battle of the Cowpens was fought January 17, 1781. It was a complete and decisive victory for the Americans. The whole force of Morgan, on this occasion, was about a thousand men. He was ably assisted by Col. Washington and Col. Howard, of Maryland. The consequences of this victory were very important, as it deprived Cornwallis of one-fifth of his army. Much embarrassment and perplexity were felt, in 1781, on account of the low state of the finances. Robert Morris, who was at this time superintendent of the national treasure, by great skill and good management of the finances, enabled Congress to prosecute the war. Money is a great desideratum in war. Mr. Robert Morris was a representative from the State of Pennsylvania. It became his duty, as treasurer, under the impoverished state of the country, to create funds. He had been very active in establishing a bank in Philadelphia. Mr. Morris possessed a degree of mercantile enterprise and credit seldom equaled in any country. It was due to the financial skill and management of Mr. Morris that the active operations of the campaign of 1781 were

not impeded, nay, defeated, by a failure of the means of transporting military stores for the feeding of the army. The unspeakable importance of a well-managed treasury, in a time of war, was never more strikingly exhibited than in the late civil war in our country. At Guilford Court-House, in North Carolina, Cornwallis came in view of Greene's army. The action was long and diversified. The Americans finally retreated, but Cornwallis could not pursue. His losses were too great. Cornwallis proceeded, after this battle, on a dreary march of six hundred miles to Wilmington, North Carolina, and afterward to Petersburg, Virginia. "No battle," says Marshall, "in the course of this war reflects more honor on the courage of the British troops than the battle of Guilford. On no other occasion had the British fought with such inferiority of numbers or disadvantage of ground. Gen. Greene's army (not to count the first line, which relinquished without a struggle its advantageous position) consisted of three thousand two hundred men, and the disposition of his army was skillfully made. The British army on this occasion was about two thousand rank and file. Gen. Greene, after the battle of Guilford, expected to be again attacked; but the situation of Cornwallis was more desperate than Greene had expected. Cornwallis had proclaimed a victory, but, like some of the victories that Pyrrhus won over the Romans, another such victory would have ruined him. Two of their best officers were killed in this engagement. The proclamation of victory was made to induce loyal subjects to declare themselves; but the field of Guilford, yielded by the Americans, was barren of the fruits of conquest. When Greene discovered that

Cornwallis had gone on his long march, he saw the impossibility of attacking him successfully at Wilmington, on account of the British naval force at that place. Greene then adopted the bold resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, wisely supposing that such a step would either compel Lord Cornwallis to follow him or sacrifice all the posts held by the British in the upper parts of South Carolina and Georgia. If the army of Cornwallis followed him, it would liberate North Carolina, and enable her to raise her quota of troops, or otherwise it would restore the upper parts of South Carolina and Georgia, and the possessions of the British in the South would be reduced to the seaports of Charleston and Savannah. Lord Cornwallis had left Lord Rawdon in South Carolina. For the firm establishment of the British power in the South, a line of posts had been continued from Charleston, by the way of Camden and Ninety-Six, to Augusta, in Georgia. The most important point of the line was Camden. These posts were slightly fortified, as no formidable enemy was expected. Sumpter and Marion, who respectively commanded a corps of mounted militia, kept up a spirit of resistance in the northwest and northeast. Their celerity of movement protected them in a great measure from the pursuit of Rawdon, who had been unable to form a body of cavalry. Such was the condition of the country when Greene formed the bold and seemingly impracticable resolution of re-annexing it to the American Union. Greene's effective Continental infantry amounted at this time to fifteen hundred men. To this number the legion of Major Harry Lee and the cavalry of Lieut. Col. Washington

amounted to not quite three hundred men. But such men as Lee and Col. Washington were almost equivalent to a host. The extensive line of posts kept up by Lord Rawdon presented to Greene, as he thought, some vulnerable points. In order to make an immediate impression on these places, he re-enforced the legion, with a company of infantry, and detached Lee to join Gen. Marion. At the same time Gen. Pickens was requested to assemble the western militia and lay siege to Ninety-Six and Augusta, while Greene encamped before Camden, about half a mile from the British works. Greene found Rawdon fully prepared for him at Camden, and soon after retreated to Hobkirk's Hill, where a severe engagement took place. In this encounter victory at one time seemed to perch upon the American standard. Col. Washington had turned the right flank, charged them in the rear, and the artillery were playing vigorously on the front. Col. Washington had taken from the rear two hundred prisoners, when one of those incidents occurred against which military prudence can make no provision. The First Maryland regiment, which had so distinguished itself at Guilford, and which had gained, with the assistance of Col. Washington's cavalry, the battle of Cowpens, was thrown into disorder, which involved other regiments, and thus the victory was lost. Augusta capitulated to the American legion, on the 5th of June, 1781. The prisoners were three hundred in number. With the hope that this spectacle might intimidate the garrison of Ninety-Six, the prisoners were marched in full view of the British works, in being conducted to the main army. Ninety-Six was never taken by assault. Many valuable lives were

lost in attempting to take it. It was afterward evacuated. "The continued exertions of the whole Southern army," says Marshall, "were highly meritorious, but the successful activity of *one corps* must attract particular attention." The *legion*, from its structure, was peculiarly adapted to the partisan warfare of the Southern States, and, by being detached against the weaker posts of the enemy, had opportunities for displaying with advantage all the energy and talent it possessed. In that extensive sweep which this corps made from the Santee to Augusta, which employed from the 15th of April, 1781, to the 5th of June, acting in conjunction first with Marion, afterward with Pickens, sometimes alone, it had constituted the principal force which carried five British posts, and made more than eleven hundred prisoners. We have said that this army displayed great courage; their general, too, had manifested firmness, enterprise, and prudence. Though defeated in two battles and repulsed with slaughter in an attempt to storm Ninety-Six, this army had always kept the field, and soon limited the British power in the South to the sea-coast, and to the country between the Santee, Congaree, and Edisto. The inhabitants of the country felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries sharpened their resentments against each other, until neighbor was armed against neighbor. The commanders of the British forces, after overrunning Georgia and South Carolina, seem to have considered those states as re-annexed to the British empire, and determined to treat those as *rebels* who had once submitted and had again taken up arms against them. The execu-

tion of Col. Haynes took place on the 3d of August, while Lord Rawdon was in Charleston preparing to sail for Europe. The Americans were at this time in possession of the greater part of that country. The execution of Col. Haynes was taken up by Greene, and had nearly produced a system of retaliation. The British officers are said to have executed several of the partisans of the Revolution, who had fallen into their hands. Such was the exasperation produced by these things, that, when Fort Granby surrendered, the militia attached to the legion manifested so strong a disposition to kill the prisoners who were natives of the country, but had made themselves very obnoxious to the patriots, that it called forth a solemn declaration from Gen. Greene that he would put any man to death who would be guilty of so atrocious an act. Gen. Greene did all that he could to discourage this exterminating spirit. He was too humane, as well as too judicious, to encourage such a spirit. He saw in it the destruction of the whole country, and sought to appease it by restraining the excesses of those who were attached to the American cause.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ah! few shall part where many meet;
The snow shall be their winding-sheet,
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre.

The battle of Eutaw Springs was fought on the 8th of September, 1781, a short time before the surrender

at Yorktown, but those engaged in this fiercely fought battle dreamed not that the end was near. Lord Rawdon had gone to Europe, and Lieut. Col. Stuart held his place. "Never did men," said Gen. Greene, in giving an account of the battle of Eutaw Springs to Congress, "offer their blood more willingly in the service of their country." All the best captains under the command of Greene were present at Eutaw. Marion and Pickens, Sumner of North Carolina, Lieut. Col. Campbell of Virginia, and Major Lee, with his legion, from the same state. The state troops of South Carolina were commanded by Henderson. The cavalry of Col. Washington and the infantry of Kirkwood were all there, to do their part on this bloody day. For a short time during the course of this battle, the hostile ranks became intermingled and the officers fought hand to hand. In this fearful moment, Lee, who had turned the left flank, charged them in the rear. So fierce a struggle could not long be maintained. The British line was broken and driven off the field. Early in the action, Henderson, who commanded the state troops of South Carolina, was disabled, and his place was taken by Lieut. Col. Hampton. At a critical time of the battle, the British general ordered Major Sheridan, with a detachment of New Yorkers, to take post in a brick house standing in the rear of the ground on his right, while others placed themselves in a picketed garden. With bastions like these, great loss of life must accrue to those who would drive them out. Col. Washington was wounded and taken prisoner. With unyielding firmness, the American troops sought to dislodge the British; but as the gallantry of the defense was equal

to that of the attack, their utmost efforts were unsuccessful. The loss on both sides bore a large proportion to the numbers engaged. The American dead amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven men, and their killed, wounded, and missing to five hundred and fifty-five. Among these were sixty commissioned officers. Their general said, this loss is more grievous on account of their value than their numbers. Among the slain was Campbell, whose bold and decisive charge with a Virginia brigade had broken the British line. The loss of the British army was stated by themselves at six hundred and ninety-three men, only eighty-five of whom were killed. If this statement be correct, the American dead greatly exceeded that of the adversary. This is probable, as the *carnage* of the Americans, in attempting to dislodge the British from the house and garden, was very great. As usual, each party estimated the loss of their foes as greater than their own. Each party claimed the victory. The claim of victory was not unequivocal to either. Gen. Greene's pretensions are supported by the fact, that he drove the British army from the ground on which it was originally drawn up, having pursued them into a house, which he attacked, and having afterward drawn off his army without being pursued. Lieut. Col. Stuart's pretensions are founded on the fact of his having rallied his broken troops and brought them back into the action, after which his adversary gave up the bloody contest and withdrew from the field. The fortunes of the day were obviously nearly balanced. The thanks of Congress were voted to every corps in the army, and a resolution was passed for "presenting to Major-Gen. Greene, as an

L of C

honorable testimony of his merit, a British standard and a gold medal emblematic of the battle and the *victory*." In less than a month, Cornwallis marched from Wilmington, North Carolina, to Petersburg. Having been re-enforced by nearly two thousand men from Sir Henry Clinton's army, he determined to pursue La Fayette, who was now in Virginia in command of a small force. This gallant nobleman skillfully eluded pursuit, frequently, however, harassing the outposts of the British. Gen. Washington had at one time entertained the idea of retaking the city of New York. This plan was suggested to his mind while Clinton's army was in the South. With an army of ten thousand men, he had proceeded nearly to Kingsbridge, when the sudden return of Sir Henry Clinton disappointed him. He at once relinquished the attempt. Sir Henry Clinton, fortunately for the American cause, supposed that almost every movement of Washington was to this end. Clinton bent all his energies to the defense of New York, apprehending an attack from the combined forces of France and America. Washington, fully understanding the apprehensions of the British general, determined, if possible, to confirm him in them. He therefore wrote letters to some of his officers, declaring that the only way to save Virginia (the coasts of Virginia were at this time attacked by Arnold) was to attack New York. These letters were intercepted by the British, as had been intended. Washington, attended by some of his officers, reconnoitered the island of New York on both sides, from the opposite shore. This tended still further to confirm Clinton in his error. Marshall does not mention the deceptive letters said to have

been written by the commander-in-chief, but says, that early in August, seeing his inability to carry out his favorite object, *i. e.*, the taking of New York, he changed his plan. He had before this time intimated to La Fayette that his plan might be directed to Southern operations. He now gave him fuller information, requesting him to make such a disposition of his army as to prevent Lord Cornwallis from escaping to Charleston. Marshall says, as it was of the utmost importance to conceal from Sir Henry Clinton this change of plan, the arrangements were made secretly. The Count De Grasse had sailed from Brest early in March. He had had an indecisive engagement with Sir Samuel Hood in the West Indies, who had been detached to intercept him. After some further operations and a junction with other French ships on the West India station, he directed his course to the Chesapeake with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, where he arrived late in August. At Cape Henry, De Grasse found an officer with full intelligence of the situation of the armies in Virginia. Lord Cornwallis, having received information that a French fleet would soon appear on the coast, had collected his whole force at Yorktown and at Gloucester Point, where he fortified himself.

The Marquis de La Fayette had taken a position on James river, for the purpose of preventing the escape of Cornwallis to Charleston. If my young friends will look at the map, they will understand how easily Cornwallis could, under ordinary circumstances, have taken to his ships, and sailed away to the harbor of Charleston, over which the British flag proudly waved. But insurmountable obstructions now hedged

up his way. Four ships of the line lay at the mouth of the York; frigates were passing up the James, to convey French land forces to make a junction with La Fayette. These had been detached from the fleet that lay just within the capes. De Barras also was there with his squadron from Newport, laden with heavy artillery and military stores, proper for carrying on a siege. When Washington set out for Virginia, with the combined forces, on the 19th of August, 1781, Clinton believed it to be a feint, It would seem to have been a providential blindness. A power superior to either Washington or Clinton had contrived the plan that led to the surrender of Cornwallis, and the consequent independence of America. Dispatches had been sent by Sir George Rodney to Admiral Graves, that the French fleet was destined for the Chesapeake. These dispatches were intercepted. Sir Samuel Hood was sent over to rejoin Admiral Graves in the Chesapeake. Not finding the admiral in those waters, he immediately set sail for New York. Cornwallis vainly expected succor from Sir Henry Clinton. It became now too late to render direct assistance; therefore, Arnold, now a brigadier-general in the British army, was sent to ravage Connecticut. New London was taken and burned, and the garrison of Fort Griswold, after making a heroic defense, were put to the sword. The British colonel, incensed at the slaughter of his troops, *turned* the sword yielded to him by Col. Ledyard, the gallant commander of the fort, against its noble defenders.

CHAPTER XXII.

Like leviathans afloat,
Lay their bulwarks on the brine,
While the sign of battle flew
Along the lofty line.
As they drifted on their path,
There was silence, deep as death,
And the boldest held their breath
For a time.

NOTHING now could divert Washington's attention from the siege before him. His soul was filled with the sublime hope that the end of the war was near, and with this consummation, the glorious boon of National Independence. A proposition made at this time by Count De Grasse somewhat alarmed him. The count thought it probable that the commander of the British fleet, anxious to relieve Cornwallis, might come and attack him in the bay. His expectation was strengthened by hearing of an accession to the English fleet, under Admiral Digby. De Grasse proposed, therefore, that he might go into the open sea to pursue, in advance, the British fleet. Washington, by importunity and arguments, prevailed with him to remain at the mouth of the bay. Themistocles of old was not more urgent in detaining the Greek navy at the bay of Salamis, than was our great captain in keeping the Frenchman at his appointed station. A battery was erected on Point Comfort, which commanded the mouth of the Chesapeake. York is a small town on the south side of York river. On this majestic river, a ship of the line can ride in safety. On the opposite shore to York was Gloucester Point. The batteries of Cornwallis protected these posts,

also some ships of war which lay under his guns. Tarleton commanded Gloucester Point. He was watched by detachments of French and Americans under the command of De Choise. Cornwallis withdrew to his inner lines. Two parallels were made by the Americans—one on the 6th of October, and one on the 11th. Two British redoubts annoyed our men, as they worked in the trenches. Washington resolved to take them. The attack of one of these was given to the French, headed by La Fayette. Col. Hamilton and Laurens, with a detachment of Americans, attacked the other. They were both taken. Cornwallis, seeing his desperate condition, determined to try to make his escape by crossing the river. Arrangements for crossing were made with great secrecy, but a violent storm of wind arose, which drove the boats down the river. They were forced to return. He had intended leaving his sick and baggage behind and crossing over with his effectives to the Gloucester shore to attack De Choise, and force his way, if possible, through Maryland, Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and effect a junction in New York. We have seen that these vain expectations were entirely frustrated by a storm. On the 19th of October, 1781, Cornwallis submitted to a necessity no longer to be avoided. He surrendered the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, with the garrisons which had defended them, and the shipping in the harbor with their seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France. The army, with the artillery, arms and accoutrements, military chest, and public stores, were surrendered to Gen. Washington; the ships and seamen to Count De Grasse. The total

amount of prisoners, excluding seamen, rather exceeded seven thousand men. The loss sustained by the garrison during the siege amounted to five hundred and fifty-two men, including six officers. The soldiers, accompanied by a due proportion of officers, were to remain in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The officers not required for this service were permitted to go on parole to Europe. Lord Cornwallis earnestly sought for permission for his European troops to return to their respective countries. On this subject we subjoin two letters:

YORK IN VIRGINIA, 17*th October*, 1781.

SIR:—I have this moment been honored with your excellency's letter. The time limited for sending my answer will not admit of entering into the details of articles, but the basis of my proposals will be that the garrisons of York and Gloucester shall be prisoners of war, with the customary honors, and for the convenience of the individuals which I have the honor to command, that the British shall be sent to Britain and the Germans to Germany, under engagements not to serve against France, America, or their allies until released or regularly exchanged; that all arms and public stores shall be delivered up to you, but that the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers and of retaining private property shall be granted to officers and soldiers; and the interests of individuals in civil capacities, and connected with us, shall be attended to. I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

HIS EXCELLENCY, GEN. WASHINGTON.

My Lord :—To avoid unnecessary discussions and delays, I shall at once, in answer to your lordship's letter, declare the general basis upon which a definitive treaty of capitulation must take place. The garrison of York and Gloucester, including the seamen, as you propose, will be received as prisoners of war. The condition annexed, of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belong, is inadmissible. Instead of this, they will be marched to such parts of this country as can most conveniently provide for their subsistence, and the benevolent treatment of prisoners, which is invariably observed by the Americans, will be extended to them. The same honors will be granted to the army surrendering as were granted to the garrison of Charleston. The shipping and boats in the two harbors, with all their guns, stores, tackling, furniture, and apparel, shall be delivered in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to receive them. The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, public stores, shall be delivered *unimpaired* to the heads of department to which they belong. The officers will be indulged in retaining their *side-arms*. The officers and soldiers may keep their baggage and effects *with this reserve*, that property taken in the country will be reclaimed. In regard to those in civil capacities, which your lordship wishes may be attended to, until they are more particularly described, nothing definitive can be settled. The sick and wounded will be supplied by their own hospital stores and attended by British surgeons particularly charged with the care of them. Your lordship will be pleased to signify your acceptance or your rejection

of the proposals now offered in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter, that commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation, or a renewal of hostilities may take place. I have the honor to be, my lord, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

LIEUT. GEN. EARL CORNWALLIS.

The whole army merited a high degree of approbation, but the artillerists and engineers chiefly distinguished themselves. Du Portail and Knox were made major-generals, and Gorivion and Rochfontaine, of the corps of engineers, were advanced a grade by brevet. Gens. Lincoln, De La Fayette, and Baron Steuben were particularly mentioned by the commander-in-chief in the orders issued the day after the capitulation. Gov. Nelson, of Virginia (whose residence was at Yorktown), and who remained in the field during the whole siege, was spoken of by Washington in terms of peculiar warmth. Gen. Nelson exerted his energies, not only in leading a large body of militia, but in using freely his substance to purchase supplies for the army. It is related by Irving, that when Nelson was consulted as to where the firing should begin in York, that he pointed to his *own house* upon the hill as a good point of attack, its inhabitants having been previously removed. The highest acknowledgments were made to Rochambeau. The allied army, to which that of Cornwallis surrendered, is estimated at sixteen thousand men. The French were estimated by Rochambeau at seven thousand, the Continental army five thousand five hundred, and the militia thirty-five hundred. When Cornwallis,

in his letter to Washington, spoke of the interests of "certain persons in a civil capacity," he meant those Americans who had joined the British army. This article was rejected, as we have seen from Washington's letter; but when the Bonetta sloop of war was sent to New York by Cornwallis, to Sir Henry Clinton, containing dispatches, it was permitted to go unsearched, and on board this vessel were those Americans who were most obnoxious to their countrymen. Congress determined to go in solemn procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under Cornwallis. The 13th of December was appointed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. The pen of Mr. Jefferson had five years before written the Declaration of Independence and sent it forth to the world, but the establishment of the principles therein contained laid many a hero prostrate in the dust, and heaved the breasts of patriots with many agonizing throes. Washington stood erect amid these storms—

> "Like some tall rock, that lifts its head on high,
> Swells from the vale and midway leaves the sky.
> Tho' round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

Great was the joy throughout the country produced by the surrender. It was not, of course, yet known that the war might not be continued, yet many thought, as it really proved to be, that the surrender at Yorktown would be the last act of offensive warfare between England and the United States. The Revolution was accomplished. The American eagle soared aloft. The flag of the United States

floated over "the land of the free and the home of the brave." The states were then but thirteen. These were Atlantic states. Now there are thirty-seven, extending from one ocean to the other, and circling around the great Southern gulf. What feelings of sublimity must have swelled the soul of Washington as he stood before York on the 19th of October. For six years the mighty struggle had been waged under all the disadvantages that undisciplined troops, inexperienced officers, and an empty treasury could impose. How strange to human foresight that the British general should have sat down with his little army in a place where he could be so easily surrounded. The day of the surrender, Sir Henry Clinton left New York with a large army and twenty-five ships of the line to assist Cornwallis. In our day, you know, such misapprehensions and such delays could not occur. It is true, that in a time of war telegraph lines may be cut, and railroads partially destroyed, but such interruptions would be comparatively short.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Ye are brothers! ye are men!
And we conquer but to save.
So *peace*, instead of death, let us bring;
But yield, proud foe, thy power.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, public opinion in England became so decided against a further prosecution of hostilities, that negotiations were entered upon for the establishment of peace. In the House of Commons, 22d of February, 1782, Gen. Conway

moved that addresses be presented to his majesty, imploring him to listen to the advice of his faithful Commons, that the *war in America* should be no longer prosecuted. This motion was at first negatived, but a short time afterward Mr. Fox and his party succeeded in placing before the king an address praying for a discontinuance of the war. The king returned a favorable answer. During the war, Lord North was the premier or the first minister of state. During this time, Fox, Pitt, and Burke, three of the greatest names that adorn English annals, were members of Parliament. In 1782, on the 30th of November, a preliminary treaty was signed at Paris by commissioners. The commissioners of the United States were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. In this treaty, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. The boundaries were fixed by the lakes on the north and the Mississippi on the west. Florida was returned to Spain, but was destined in due time to become one of the United States. The army was disbanded on the 3d of November, 1783. On the 25th of November, New York, which had been so long held by the British, was evacuated. Charleston, in South Carolina, had been given up on the 14th of December, 1782. In May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton had succeeded to Sir Henry Clinton, in the command of all the British forces in the United States. From the arrival of Carleton at New York, the conduct of the British armies was regulated by a conciliatory spirit. Peace was declared in 1783. In December (the 4th) an affecting interview took place between Washington and his officers. His military career was now on the point

of terminating, and, before divesting himself of the supreme command, he desired to bid adieu to his comrades in arms. Gen. Washington, accompanied by Gov. Clinton, made a public entry into the city. At noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at the chief public house (Frances' tavern) of the city. Soon after, their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. He turned to them and said, with a heart full of love and gratitude: "I now take leave of you. I devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former days have been glorious and honorable. I can not come to each of you, to take leave, but shall be obliged to you if each one of you will come and take me by the hand." Gen. Knox, being nearest, turned first toward him. Incapable of utterance, Washington grasped Knox by the hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner, he took leave of every succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility. Not a word was uttered to interrupt the majestic silence and tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry and walked to White Hall, where a barge was in waiting to convey him to Paulus Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of pleasing melancholy which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, he bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and, after the barge was gone, they returned to the same place, in the same solemn manner

where they had assembled. Sometimes great men inspire affection in others while they remain cold and unmoved themselves. This was not the case with Washington. Congress was then, 1783, in session at Annapolis, in Maryland, to which place Gen. Washington repaired for the purpose of resigning into their hands the authority with which they had invested him. When he informed Congress of his desire to resign, he requested to know whether it would be their pleasure that he should offer his resignation in writing or at an *audience*. To give more dignity to the act, Congress resolved that it should be offered at a public audience on the following Tuesday. When the hour arrived, the house was crowded with spectators. The legislative and executive officers of the state, several general officers, and the consul-general of France, were admitted on the floor of Congress. The representatives of the sovereignty of the Union remained seated and covered. The spectators were standing and uncovered. The president, Gen. Mifflin, then informed him that the United States, in Congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communication. Then followed his address to Congress:

"Mr. President:—The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction

the appointment I received with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I shall do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my family, could have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued with me in the service to the present hour as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress. I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

After advancing to the chair and delivering his commission to the president, he returned to his place and

received *standing*, the following answer of Congress, which was delivered by the president:

"SIR:—The United States, in Congress assembled, receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered until these United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence, on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this New World, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theater of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command: it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Al-

mighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens, to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world can not give."

"This scene being closed—a scene rendered peculiarly interesting by the personages who appeared in it, and by the great events it recalled to the memory, and by the circumstances under which it was displayed—the American chief withdrew from the hall of Congress, leaving on the minds of the silent and admiring spectators a deep and solemn impression." Having laid down his military character, Washington retired to Mount Vernon. He returned with much delight to the duties and enjoyments of private life. Gen. Washington, during his military career, had some enemies and detractors. A few troubled and designing spirits concerted an intrigue of some importance, which reached even unto Congress. The object of the cabal seems to have been to give Gen. Gates the chief command. This conspiracy seems to have arisen soon after the surrender of Burgoyne, and during the terrible winter at Valley Forge. But so deep-seated was the public esteem of Washington, so warmly was he supported by his friends, so intense was the feeling of the army, that he triumphed without an effort in his own defense. The chief tool of the cabal against the commander-in-chief was Gen. Conway, who resigned from the army and gave vent to violent language. Gen. Cadwallader resented his vituperative

expressions. A duel was the consequence, in which Conway was severely wounded. Supposing himself to be at the point of death, he wrote the following letter to Washington:

"SIR:—I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes to express my sincere grief for having done or said anything disagreeable to your excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my sentiments. You are, in my eyes, a great and good man. May you long enjoy the esteem of those states whose liberties you have assisted by your virtues.

"THOMAS CONWAY."

CHAPTER XXIV.

In every government, though terrors reign,
Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still, to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity *we make or find;*
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy.

THE day after Washington left Annapolis, he hastened to his home, at Mount Vernon. He reached it on Christmas eve, well prepared to enjoy the sacred festival and happy season. Mrs. Washington, who had presided with quiet dignity at headquarters, and who had cheered the wintry gloom at Valley Forge, was now free from the distracting anxieties of war, from which she had so long suffered, and now gracefully dispensed the hospitalities of her happy home.

"The scene is at last closed," said he, in a letter to Gov. Clinton, of New York. "I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men and in the practice of the domestic virtues." To Gen. Knox, he said: "I feel as a weary traveler must do, after treading many a weary step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, who is eased of his load, and, after arriving at a haven of rest, retraces with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way, and out of which none but the all-powerful Guide and Disposer of human events could have delivered him." To La Fayette, he said: "I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all. And this, my dear friend, being *the order of my march*, I will move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers." Meanwhile, the supreme council of Pennsylvania instructed their delegates in Congress to provide some national reward for his services, foreseeing that popular love and curiosity would attract crowds of visitors to Mount Vernon, and thus increase greatly his household expenses. Before acting upon these instructions, the delegates sent a copy of their instructions to Washington. He graciously and respectfully declined all such intervention, maintaining the satisfaction of having served his country at the sacrifice of his private interests. Through all his military career he never ceased to be an agriculturist. He was now doing in person what he had previously done through the superintendence of others. On the 17th

of August, 1784, Washington set out with the friend of his youth, Dr. Craik, to visit his lands on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers. It was a soldier-like tour, with tent, pack-horses, and frugal supplies. He traveled six hundred and eighty miles, through the unsettled regions of the Alleghanies, until he came out into the Shenandoah valley near Staunton. This tour is mentioned to prove his continued vigor and activity. He also traveled with Gov. Clinton to the northern forts. During his western tour, Washington had carefully observed the course and character of the streams flowing from the west into the Ohio. For many years he had been convinced of the practicability of an easy communication between the Potomac and James rivers and the waters of the Ohio, and thence on to the great chain of lakes, and of the advantages that would result to the States of Virginia and Maryland. One object of his recent tour was to make observations on this subject. It was important to the interests of Virginia that she should at once take active measures if she would secure to herself a share of the western trade. The use of the Mississippi to the western traders had almost been entirely barred by the jealousy of the Spaniards, but a time was coming when they would change their policy and invite trade in that direction. So much was Washington interested in the subject of internal navigation, that he laid the subject before the governor of the state, Benjamin Harrison, and proceeded to Richmond, while the state legislature was in session, to interest that body in this subject, and also to give his personal support to the measure. A committee of five members, headed by Patrick Henry, waited upon

him. "The suggestions of Washington, in his letter to the governor, and his representations during his visit to Richmond," says Mr. Irving, "gave the *first* impulse to the system of internal improvements since pursued throughout the United States." Through his exertions two companies were formed, under the patronage of the government of Virginia and Maryland, for opening the navigation of the Potomac and James rivers. He was appointed president of both companies. By a unanimous vote of the assembly of Virginia, fifty shares in the Potomac and one hundred in the James river company were bestowed upon Washington. The aggregate amount of these shares was about forty thousand dollars. He declined to receive the proffered shares for his own benefit, but received them in trust, to be applied to the use of some institution of a public nature. Washington College, Lexington, Rockbridge county, Virginia, was endowed with the profits arising from these shares. At the opening of the year 1785, the entries in his diary show him diligently employed in preparations to improve his grass and shrubberies. "In February, he transplants ivy under the walls of the garden, to which it *still* clings. The holly-berries, which he then sowed in drills, are still flourishing about this place in full vigor."

CHAPTER XXV.

" To mute and to material things
New life revolving summer brings;
The genial call dead nature hears,
And in her glory reappears.
But, O! my country's (Virginia) wintry state,
What second spring shall renovate?
What powerful call shall bid arise
The buried warlike and the wise?"

A DIAGRAM of the plan in which he laid out his grounds still remains among his papers. The places are marked on it for particular trees and shrubs. Some of these shrubs are still to be found in the places assigned to them. He corresponded with the celebrated Arthur Young on the subject of husbandry and gardening, and obtained from him seeds of various kinds. He was an early riser. Much of his correspondence was dispatched before breakfast. He had a private secretary. The children of Parke Custis formed a part of his household. Miss Custis, in recalling the scenes of her childhood, said: " I have often made him laugh most heartily from sympathy with me, but he was a silent, thoughtful man. He spoke little, generally; never of himself." In November, 1784, La Fayette spent two weeks with him at Mount Vernon. When his visit was ended, Washington accompanied him to Annapolis. On returning home, he wrote a farewell letter to the marquis: " In the moment of our separation, upon the road as I traveled, and every hour since, I have felt all that love, respect, and attachment for you which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me. I asked myself, as our carriages sepa-

rated, whether that was the last sight I should have of you, and though I wished to answer no, my fears answered yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found they had long since fled, to return no more. I felt that I was now descending the hill I had been fifty-two years in climbing, and though blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might soon expect to be entombed in the mansion of my fathers."

Though Washington, as we have said, was deeply interested in the care and ornamentation of his estates, happy in the society of his admirable wife, attentive to the education of her grandchildren—who received daily instruction from a graduate of Harvard University—the host of many cultivated and refined friends, both native and foreign, yet he looked out from his sylvan retreat with an intense solicitude upon public affairs. Very anxious was he to know, whether the thirteen states, under the present organization, could form a sufficiently efficient general government. This confederation had met the public exigencies when external danger pressed upon them, when a foe was at their gates; but now, discontented spirits were rising in rebellion in at least two of the states, which required the strong arm of power to put them down. Troublesome insurrections had arisen, both in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. "What, gracious God, is man," writes Washington. "It was but the other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we now live—constitutions of our own choice and making—and now we are unsheathing our swords to overturn them." In a letter to the former president of the Massachusetts

Provincial Congress, he writes: "The confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To me it is a solecism in politics; indeed, it is one of the most extraordinary things that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation (who are creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited duration, and who are amenable for every action and may be recalled at any moment, and are subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing) sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged, and the bright and high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering world, is turned into astonishment, and from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness." From 1778 to 1787, the United States existed under "the articles of confederation." It was now deemed necessary to constitute a stronger government. Accordingly, a convention of delegates from all the states was called to meet at Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the Federal system and correcting its defects. The proceedings of this convention were to be reported to Congress and to the several legislatures for approval and confirmation. Washington was unanimously put at the head of the Virginia delegation. After determining to serve in the convention, he went into a course of reading on the history and principles of ancient and modern confederacies. The convention met on the 25th of May. The proceedings of this memorable conveniotn occupied

from four to seven hours each day, for four months. Washington was president of this convention. In writing to La Fayette, after the close of the convention, Washington said : " It seems to me little short of a miracle, that the delegates from so many states, different from each other, as you know, in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well-founded objections. Nor am I such an enthusiastic, partial, or indiscriminating admirer of it, as not to perceive it is tinctured with some real, though not radical defects. With regard to the two great points, the pivots upon which the whole machine must move, my creed is simply, first, that the general government is not invested with more powers than are indispensably necessary to perform the functions of a good government, and, consequently, that no objection ought to be made against the quantity of power delegated to it." The constitution was sent to Congress, and then transmitted to the state legislatures, each of which submitted it to a state convention, composed of delegates chosen by the people. The ratification of nine states was necessary to make the instrument effective. During the interval of awaiting the ratification, Washington resumed his retired life at Mount Vernon. Washington's feelings, when he heard of the acceptance of the constitution, were expressed in a religious and solemn thankfulness for the protection of Heaven, which had been so manifest in all the vicissitudes through which his country had passed. Great, indeed, must have been his satisfaction to feel that the country for which he had sac-

rificed and suffered so much, was about to be established on a stable and sure foundation.

Mr. Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy, was in France when the constitution was adopted. Although he admired it as a whole, he particularly objected to the re-eligibility of the president. He feared, as he wrote to Washington, it would make it an office for life, *first*, and then hereditary. Gen. Washington so peremptorily refused re-election, after two terms, that his example impressed the public mind with almost the force of a law. We presume it would not now be practicable for any one to be elected beyond *two terms*, whatever might be their qualifications or services. But the wisdom of Mr. Jefferson's objection to the re-eligibility beyond one term (though perhaps the term might with safety be made longer) has been made very manifest. As soon as the testimonials of ratification from a sufficient number of states were received, Congress passed an act appointing the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for the people of the United States to choose electors of a president, according to the constitution, and the first Wednesday in the month of February following for the electors to meet and make a choice. The meeting of the government was to be on the first Wednesday in March, in the city of New York. The election took place at the appointed time, and it was soon ascertained that Washington was chosen president for the term of four years. On the 14th of April, the president of Congress duly notified him that he was elected President of the United States. No man ever rose to a pinnacle of power by a straighter path. In conducting his nation to independence, he had shown the self-devotion of a hero.

Now, to govern them aright required the wisdom of a sage. He was about to embark on an untried sea. Two political parties now began to be prominent—Federalists and Republicans. While the Republicans generally approved all the articles of the Federal constitution, they were very jealous of any real or supposed infraction of the rights of the states. They regarded the thirteen states as distinct sovereignties, but united under one federal head, by the consent of the people of the several states. All powers not distinctly ceded to the general government they considered as rights reserved to the states. The Federalists were more solicitous to make the general government *strong* than the states independent. All entered, however, into a solemn compact to preserve and maintain the Federal constitution. Gen. Washington was called a Federalist, though he was never a strong *partisan*, *i. e.*, he was never willing to risk or sacrifice the peace of the country to the interests of party. In selecting his first cabinet, two of his secretaries were Republicans and two were Federalists. Mr. Jefferson, the great leader of the Republican party, was given the first place in the Cabinet. He was made secretary of state, immediately after his arrival from France.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Union—"Distinct, as the billows, but one, as the sea."

WASHINGTON'S journey to New York, where he was to be inaugurated in the presidential office, was a triumph. The ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, proclaimed his course through the country. Old and

young, women and children, thronged the highways, to bless and welcome him. The parting with his personal friends and neighbors, at Alexandria, was touching and affectionate. Washington had hoped to be spared all military parade, but it could not be avoided. Gen. Mifflin, his old companion in arms, met him on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. At Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected over the Assunpink, which flows through Trenton. How vividly the dark, cold night of the 25th of December must have been brought to his mind, when he crossed the Delaware, full of floating ice behind him, and the camp-fires of Cornwallis in front of him; but now "the winter of discontent was changed to glorious summer." Washington, in his reply to an address of the mayor of Philadelphia, said: "When I contemplate the interposition of Providence, as it was visibly manifested in guiding us through the Revolution, in preparing us for the reception of the general government, and in conciliating the good-will of the people of America toward one another, after its adoption, I feel myself oppressed and almost overwhelmed with a sense of Divine goodness. I feel that nothing is due to my personal agency in all the wonderful and complicated events, except what can be attributed to an honest zeal for the good of my country." "The motion of the boat" (writes Washington, as he approached New York), "the flags of the shipping, the strains of music, the roar of cannon, the acclamations of the people, filled my mind, as I passed, with emotions as painful as they were pleasurable; for I thought on the scenes that might occur, on a future day, of an opposite character, in spite of all my efforts to do good." Nearly a

century and a half before this time, Oliver Cromwell, on a similar occasion, was followed and preceded by crowds. "What crowds! What acclamations!" said his flatterers. "There would be more to see me hung," replied Cromwell. Cromwell had too deeply read the human heart not to be suspicious of popular applause. Washington knew that the people loved *him*, and that their enthusiasm was genuine. His nature was sunny and cheerful, and fully sympathized in the joy of the people. His painful feelings arose from a sense of the difficulties of the situation to which he had been elevated, and its *tremendous* responsibilities. The inauguration was delayed a few days, on account of a question as to the form or title by which the president should be addressed. It was finally resolved that the title should be simply "the President of the United States." The 30th of April, 1789, was the day of the inauguration. At nine o'clock on this day, there were religious services in all the churches to implore the blessing of Heaven on the new government.

Washington was in a coach of state; his aide-de-camp, Col. Humphreys, and his private secretary, Mr. Lear, in his own carriage; the foreign ministers and a long train of citizens followed. The vice-president, John Adams, the Senate, and House of Representatives were already in their places. As Washington entered the hall, John Adams advanced and conducted him to a chair of state at the upper end of the hall. A solemn silence prevailed when the vice-president arose and informed him that the moment had arrived to take the oath of office required by the constitution. The oath was administered by the chancellor of the State of New York, in the balcony in front of the

Senate chamber, and in full view of an immense multitude occupying the street, windows, and roofs of the adjacent houses. In the center of the balcony was a table with a covering of crimson velvet, upon which lay a Bible on a velvet cushion. The chancellor administered the oath, and Mr. Otis, the secretary of the Senate, held up the Bible. The oath was read slowly and distinctly, Washington at the same time laying his hand upon the open Bible. "I swear—so help me God!" Mr. Otis would have raised the Bible, but Washington bowed down reverently and kissed it. Washington was clad upon this occasion in a full suit of dark-brown American cloth, with a steel-hilted dress-sword, white silk stockings, and silver shoe-buckles. His hair was dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day. Washington returned to the Senate chamber, where he delivered his inaugural address to both houses of Congress. After this, he proceeded with the whole assemblage, on foot, to St. Paul's church, where prayers suited to the occasion were read by Dr. Prevost, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York, who was one of the chaplains of Congress. Washington entered upon the presidential office with much anxiety. The departments under the new government were not yet organized. He could turn with confidence for counsel to Mr. John Jay, who still remained at the head of affairs, where he had been placed in 1784. He had a ready sympathizer in Knox, his old comrade, who continued to officiate as secretary of war. The affairs of the treasury were managed by a board, consisting of Livingston, Osgood, and Arthur Lee. To Alexander Hamilton, Washington often had recourse,

in the difficult and intricate problems in government that would be presented. It was a great satisfaction to Washington to consult James Madison, who was one of the members of Congress. Mr. Madison had been with him in the convention; he had written many luminous and able essays in "The Federalist" (a collection of state papers written by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay), and his talents as a speaker, extensive information, and legislative experience destined him to be a leader in the house. Only three states had unanimously voted for the constitution. Two states still hesitated. These were Rhode Island and North Carolina.

As we have already hinted, some feared that the new government would prove too weak to preserve order and prevent civil strife; others, the Republicans, (afterward called Democrats), that it would be too strong for the independence of the states, and would tend toward consolidation or centralization and despotism. This conflict of opinion produced much irritation, and partisans on both sides were often acrimonious and unjust to each other. The country over which Washington was called upon to govern, was ten times larger than any previous republic. It presented to the Atlantic a front of fifteen hundred miles. Beyond the Alleghanies were territories of immense extent—the asylum of roving Indians and discontented white men. The Mississippi, the great outlet to the products of the West, had not as yet free navigation. Spain opposed a barrier. The hardy yeomanry of the West believed that Congress ought to remove this barrier, and were indignant at the apparent indifference of that body. It was said that

British emissaries were fomenting the Western discontents, and offering them their assistance to seize upon the city of New Orleans, and fortify the mouth of the Mississippi; while others represented that the Spanish authorities were intriguing to effect a separation of the Western territory from the Union, with a view of attaching it to the dominion of Spain. Great Britain still *held* some western posts, the surrender of which had been stipulated by treaty. The plea for retaining these posts was, debts due to British subjects remained unpaid, for which, by the same treaty, the United States were bound. These posts were retained by the British in order to secure the monopoly of the fur trade. Marauding corsairs from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli had seized American merchant vessels and carried their crews into slavery. "No treaty having yet been made with any of the Barbary States, except Morocco, I walk, as it were," said Washington, "upon untrodden ground. I feel the need of the countenance and aid of every friend to myself, of every friend to the Revolution, and of every lover of good government." It was not until the 10th of September, after the inauguration of the president, that a cabinet was duly organized. At this time, a department of foreign affairs (afterward termed a department of state) was instituted, a treasury department, and a department of war. As it was a time of great financial exigency, the post of secretary of the treasury was of paramount importance. Alexander Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury, and his nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the same day that it was made. Gen. Knox was made secretary of war. Mr. Jefferson, who had

acted for some years as minister to the court of France, had recently asked and obtained permission to return home. Washington wrote to Jefferson, offering him the post of secretary of state, but forbearing to nominate a successor to his place at the court of Versailles until he should be informed of his determination. With regard to the re-eligibility of the president, Jefferson's objections seem to have been quieted by the elevation of Washington. "Since the thing (re-eligibility) has been established," he writes, "I would wish it not to be altered during the lifetime of our great leader, whose executive talents are superior to those, I believe, of any man in the world, and who alone, by the authority of his name and the confidence reposed in his perfect integrity, is so fully qualified to put the new government under way as to secure it against the efforts of opposition. I hope we will correct our error the very moment we can no longer have the same man at the helm." At this time, Jefferson was deeply interested and immersed in French politics. He was so much excited by this interest, the desire that other peoples should enjoy the blessings of a free government, he seemed to forget, in his enthusiasm, that liberty without virtue will degenerate into licentiousness. "Liberty is a *means* and not an end in attaining happiness, and when taken in too large draughts, it first intoxicates, then maddens, then destroys." Jefferson accepted the post of secretary of state. Now arose questions of form and ceremony. In all these minor matters Washington consulted those around him—Adams, Hamilton, Jay, Madison, and Jefferson. Adams had been minister to England before he was elected to the vice-

presidency. "The glare of royalty and nobility during this mission had made him believe their fascination a necessary ingredient in government." Hamilton thought a high tone ought to be avoided, lest it shock the prevalent notions of equality. The arrival of Mrs. Washington seems to have regulated these matters. On the day after her arrival, Washington gave a dinner, of which we have an account from the pen of Mr. Wingate, a senator from New Hampshire. "The guests consisted of the vice-president, the foreign ministers, the heads of departments, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the senators from New Hampshire and Georgia, then the most Northern and most Southern states. It was the least showy dinner that I ever saw at the president's table. As there was no chaplain present, the president himself said a short grace before we sat down. After dinner and dessert were finished, *one* glass of wine was passed around. The president rose, and all the company retired to the drawing-room, from which the guests departed as every one chose, without ceremony." On Friday evenings, Mrs. Washington held levées from eight to ten o'clock, to which the families of all respectable persons, native or foreign, were invited. The sanctity and quiet of Sunday were strictly observed by Washington. He attended church in the morning and passed the afternoon alone in his closet. No visitors were admitted, except some intimate friend in the evening, which was spent in the bosom of his family. At levées and drawing-rooms, it is said, that the manner of Washington was cold and distant. Those who knew him best, said this distant reserved manner proceeded from the novelty of his position

and his innate diffidence. Mrs. Washington received her guests with the ease and good breeding of one who had been accustomed to preside over a hospitable mansion in Virginia. The society in and around Alexandria was very cultivated and refined. George William Fairfax, whose home had been the resort of Washington's youth, remained in England during the war. The hand of Fairfax had been open to relieve the distresses of Americans, and he kept up a cordial correspondence with Washington. Members of this family still reside in that vicinity. "Old Lord Fairfax, of Greenway Court, lived on," says Mr. Irving, "in his sylvan retreat on the Shenandoah, until he had attained his ninety-second year, when tidings of the surrender of Yorktown so wounded the national pride of the old cavalier as to snap the attenuated cord of his existence." We still quote from Mr. Irving: "Much has been said of Washington's equipages when at New York, and of his having four and sometimes six horses before his carriage, with servants and outriders dressed in livery. Such style was usual at the time both in England and the colonies. It was still prevalent among the wealthy planters of the South and the "merchant princes" of the North. It does not appear that Washington ever indulged in such display through ostentation. When he repaired to the hall of Congress on the day of inauguration, he was drawn by a single pair of horses in a *chariot* which had been presented for the occasion. Besides this modest equipage, there was a heavy family carriage, to which four horses were sometimes attached—once, on a state occasion, six horses were attached to it. It is said that he owned, while in New York, four white horses of

great beauty. Washington's love of horses amounted to a passion. His favorite exercise was on horseback. He was one of the best horsemen of his day."

CHAPTER XXVII.

"With more than mortal powers endowed,
How high they soared above the crowd.
Theirs was no common party race,
Jostling by dark intrigue for place.
Beneath each banner, proud to stand,
Looked up the noblest of the land."

THE arrangement of the judicial department was one of Washington's earliest cares. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was nominated as attorney-general. He had been governor of Virginia and was a member of the convention of 1787. It is said he had been at first dissatisfied with some of the provisions of the constitution and refused to sign it, but afterward supported it in the state convention of his native state. The supreme court of the United States was to be composed of a chief justice and five associate judges. John Jay, of New York, received the appointment of chief justice. John Rutledge, of South Carolina; Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Cushing, of Massachusetts; John Blair, of Virginia, and Iredell, of North Carolina, were the associate judges. Two questions—the assumption of the state debts and the final settlement where the capital of the Federal government should be placed—greatly agitated Congress. The former subject—the assumption of the debts—produced much discord in the early part of the session.

At the close of the war, the debt amounted to forty-

two millions of dollars, but increased by arrears of interest to fifty-four millions. About twelve millions of this money was due abroad. The debt at home was due to individuals who had risked their lives in the sacred cause, and to others, for affording supplies for the sustenance and maintenance of the army. Besides the foreign and domestic debts, the states were individually involved. More than one-half of the debts of the states was due from Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina. The secretary of the treasury, Mr. Hamilton, was requested to digest or prepare a plan for the settlement of these claims. Mr. Hamilton urged the assumption of the debts, state as well as federal, by the general government. This it was that created so much excitement. The Democrats (or Republicans, as they were then called) greatly opposed this measure, fearing that it would give too much power to the central government; that it would unite the states financially, as well as politically, and tend to consolidation. The Northern and Eastern States were generally in favor of this measure, but Virginia opposed it. The measure passed by a vote of thirty-nine to twenty-six. The funding of the state debts was supposed to benefit especially the Northern States. South Carolina, however, voted for the assumption. Washington had little sympathy with these sectional jealousies. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," said the great dramatist. In an eight years' war, Washington, as we have seen, suffered all the troubles that are incident to war and an unequal strife, but he was sustained throughout by an unfaltering trust in the God of battles and in the justice of his cause. Now, he was a

civil ruler, unanimously chosen by a people who loved and honored and trusted him. This confidence of his countrymen did not remove his difficulties. The ship of state was launched on an unknown sea. Would not storms arise? Were there not rocks and quicksands to be avoided? He was at the helm, with a steady eye and determined purpose, but a republican government was an experiment. Would it abide safely amid differing interests and the rude shocks of the ambitious and designing? The wild fury of the French revolution reached these shores and disturbed, for a time, the equanimity of our people, exciting their feelings and dividing their opinions. A minister, Mr. Genet, sent here by the French Republic, behaved so indiscreetly that it was proposed to send him back to his own country. Happily his own government recalled him. Washington was greatly disturbed by the political differences of the secretary of the treasury and the secretary of state. The Federalists looked upon Mr. Hamilton as a model exemplar, and the Democrats (or Republicans) regarded Mr. Jefferson with unswerving reverence and devotion. These intellectual Titans shook the nation with their jarring discord. Washington was a friend of both, and constantly acted as a moderator in his cabinet. Jefferson suspected Hamilton's principles. He believed them to be those of a monarchist, and feared that he would use his influence to centralize and consolidate the power of the general government. Posterity has done justice to both. "How peaceful and how powerful is the grave." The state papers of Hamilton and Jefferson remain as enduring monuments of their patriotism, their wisdom, and their foresight. While the great men at the

capital were discussing the important questions of the "assumption of the debt," a national bank, the situation of the capital, and the residence of the president, the Indians of the Miami and Wabash were making cruel depredations on the possessions of the white men. We can scarcely believe that eighty years ago the horrid yell and war-whoop of the Indians were heard in the immediate vicinity of "Fort Washington," now the extensive and beautiful city of Cincinnati. In 1790, an expedition under Gen. Harmer, consisting of several hundred men, was sent against the Miamis. The expedition ended disastrously. Another expedition was sent afterward, under the command of Gen. St. Clair, who was the governor of the territory west of the Ohio. This expedition also ended in disgrace and failure. The Indians of the Wabash and Miami were not deficient in discipline; they were well-armed, numerous, and warlike, so that Indian warfare at that time was far more hazardous than it is at present* among the Indians of the Far West. Augustus was not more grieved at the loss of the legions of Varus, than was Washington when he heard of the defeat of St. Clair and the loss of his brave men. When Washington received the dispatches in relation to St. Clair's surprise and defeat, it is said he yielded to a transport of passion and grief. "It is all over!" he exclaimed, when alone with his secretary. "St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale. I warned him to beware of a surprise! He left me with the warning in his ears—'Beware of

* These lines were written some months before the Modoc war.

a surprise!" And yet, to suffer that army to be cut to pieces—hacked, butchered, tomahawked! Oh, God! Oh, God!" exclaimed he, throwing up his hands, while his whole frame shook with emotion. "He 's worse than a murderer; the blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!" In this disastrous battle, the loss of regular troops and levies amounted to five hundred and fifty killed and two hundred wounded. The whole loss, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, was nearly seven hundred men. When Washington recovered his equanimity, he said: "Gen. St. Clair shall have justice. I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice. He shall have justice." A committee of the House of Representatives ultimately inquired into the cause of the failure of this expedition, and rendered a report which explicitly exculpated him. His adjutant-general, in his private diary, testified to the coolness and bravery of St. Clair, though debilitated by illness. Public sentiment, however, for a long time remained adverse to him; but Washington, satisfied with the explanations given, honored him with his confidence and friendship. This beautiful West, like every other part of our now highly favored land, has been purchased with hardship, privation, blood, and treasure.

The struggles of the pioneers of the West, being so much nearer our own times, seem to impress us more strongly. Early in 1792, Gouverneur Morris had received the appointment of minister plenipotentiary at the French court. His diplomatic correspondence kept our government informed of the terrible excesses of the French revolution. Mr. Jefferson was very im-

patient at first of the gloomy pictures drawn by Morris. He had looked with a deeply interested and sanguine eye on the revolutionary movements in France. He was unwilling at first to believe the statements of Morris, and ascribed his impressions to a want of sympathy with the cause of human freedom. But Mr. Jefferson was shortly afterward grieved to acknowledge the madness of the French Jacobins. Washington mourned deeply over the adverse fortunes of La Fayette, who, in vainly trying to check the excesses of his people, completely lost his authority. La Fayette was denounced by the National Assembly, and an order issued for his arrest. La Fayette, being apprised of this, left his army at Sedan, intending to seek an asylum either in Holland or the United States. He was, however, detained at Rochefort, an Austrian post. He was subsequently a prisoner at Olmutz. When Washington received the intelligence of the capture of La Fayette, he immediately wrote to the Marchioness La Fayette, expressing deep concern and sympathy, and informed her that he had placed in the hands of Mr. Van Stapherst, of Amsterdam, two hundred guineas, subject to her order. Washington, hearing that Madame La Fayette was in want, delicately sought to make his donation assume the form of the repayment of a debt. Madame La Fayette was at that time a prisoner in Paris, awaiting the fate which had, in one day, smitten her grandmother, mother, and sister. She happily escaped the guillotine by the fall of Robespierre. George Washington La Fayette, her son, just of the age for conscription, made his escape to the United States, through the friendly aid of two American gen-

tlemen. He found a warm welcome at Mount Vernon, where he lived for three years. He returned to France on the liberation of his father. Washington addressed a letter to the Emperor of Germany, in behalf of the marquis, but received no answer. His release was peremptorily demanded by Napoleon I., in the conferences which preceded the treaty of Campo Formio. He was set at liberty, on the 22d of September, 1797. During the residence of young La Fayette at Mount Vernon, Louis Philippe, with his brother, was also there.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

"Still achieving, still pursuing."

After a long and painful conflict of feelings, Washington consented to be a candidate for re-election. There was no opposition on the part of the public, and the vote for him in the electoral college was unanimous. John Adams was re-elected to the vice-presidency, by a majority of twenty-seven electoral votes, over George Clinton, of New York. Mr. Adams had said, during the first presidential term, that it had been the pleasure of his countrymen to endow him with the meanest office in the gift of the government (meaning the vice-presidency), but he received the office a second time. It was under somewhat gloomy auspices that Washington entered upon his second term. There was a reign of terror in France. Louis XVI. was beheaded. This tragical event was deplored by many of the truest advocates

of liberty in America. This unfortunate monarch was remembered as the friend of this country in her revolutionary struggle, but some were so zealous in the cause of political reform, that they did not deplore the death of this virtuous king (though they execrated his murderers), hoping it would seal the downfall of the French monarchy, and the establishment of a republic. Many crimes have been committed in the name of liberty and religion, but no benefit can ever accrue to a cause through a wicked, unlawful act. It called into exercise all the wisdom and prudence of Washington to guard the neutrality of the United States amid the excitements of his own people, many of whom strongly sympathized with France when a war commenced between England and France. It was endangered, not only by the intrigues of the French minister (to whom we have already alluded), but by the ill-advised measures of the British cabinet. We will not, however, attempt any details. One grievance, however, was, that Great Britain frequently impressed American seamen—a wrong to which they were exposed from national similarity. This grievance ultimately led to the war of 1812. Early in the session of 1793, Mr. Jefferson furnished Congress with an able and elaborate report on the state of trade of the United States with different countries. This report closed his labors as secretary of state. Washington was grieved and embarrassed when he received the notification from Jefferson that he would retire from the cabinet. He expressed to Mr. Jefferson his chagrin at being deserted by those of his cabinet upon whom he had relied for counsel. The public mind was in an alarming state of ferment. Political com-

binations were forming of various kinds. He knew not where it would end. Mr. Jefferson pleaded great repugnance to public life. He also said that the opposition of views between him and Hamilton was peculiarly unpleasant and destructive of the necessary harmony. The conversation was an extended one. In the conversation, recorded by Mr. Jefferson himself, can be discerned the constant effort of Washington to moderate the growing antipathies between the eminent men whose aid he sought to assist him in conducting the government. Jefferson remained in office a few months longer, and then retired to Monticello, his country-seat, in Albemarle county, Virginia. About this time, intense excitement was produced among our people in consequence of orders issued by Great Britain to her cruisers, in June, 1793. The orders required that all *vessels* laden with produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying supplies to any such colony, should be detained and brought to British ports for adjudication in the British courts of admiralty. Several captures of American vessels were made, in consequence of these orders, which tended greatly to increase the irritation of the public. Resolutions were *moved* that all debts due to British subjects be sequestered and paid into the treasury as a fund to indemnify citizens of the United States for depredations sustained from British cruisers, and that all intercourse with Great Britain be interdicted until she had made compensation for these injuries, and until she should surrender the western posts. "Peace or war" was the question. The partisans of France said it would be pusillanimous for Americans any longer to hold terms with England. Those who were in favor of

resisting British aggressions, put into their hats a tri-colored cockade. Democratic societies were formed to aid these popular sentiments. While the public mind was in this inflammable state, Washington received advices from Mr. Pinckney, the American minister in London, informing him that the British ministry had issued instructions to the commanders of armed vessels revoking the more obnoxious orders of the 6th of November, 1793. Washington laid Pinckney's letter before Congress. It had a soothing effect on both parties. Mr. Jefferson, the reputed head of the *French* party, avowed, in a letter to Mr. Madison, his wish that war should be avoided—that by some means American faith and honor could be maintained without war. "I confess to you," said he, "that I have seen enough of one war never to wish to see another." "'T is as great an error," writes Mr. Hamilton, about the same time, "for a nation to overrate itself as to underrate itself. Presumption is as great a fault as timidity. 'T is our error to overrate ourselves and underrate Great Britain. We forget how little we can annoy, how much we may be annoyed." This was doubtless good logic in 1793; but, in 1815, the power of annoyance exercised by the people of the United States was not inconsiderable, as was proved by the battle of New Orleans. Washington resolved to prevent a war, if possible. He was too morally brave to allow noisy clamor to overcome his moderation. He determined to send to the court of St. James a special envoy to appeal to the justice of England, and to represent to that government the injuries we had sustained from it, in various ways, and urging indemnification. The envoy selected was John Jay, chief

justice of the United States. About this time, the French government requested the recall of Gouverneur Morris. The request was granted. James Monroe was appointed in his place. Mr. Monroe arrived at Paris at a moment of reaction. The reign of terror was over. Robespierre had fallen. The new minister was received in public by the convention. The sentiments expressed by Monroe were so completely in unison with the feelings of the moment, that the president of the convention embraced him with emotion, and it was decreed that the American and French flags should be entwined and hung up in the hall of the convention. Monroe presented the American flag to the convention on the part of his country. Washington, meanwhile, was becoming painfully aware that censorious tongues and pens were ready to cavil at every measure. "The affairs of this country can not go wrong," writes he, ironically, to Morris. "There are so many watchful guardians, and such infallible guides, that no one is at a loss for a director at every turn." A short time after the date of this letter, an insurrection broke out in the western part of Pennsylvania on account of the excise law. After every proper effort to reconcile the insurgents was made, without effect, an army of formidable proportions was assembled. It was reported that an army of seven thousand men could be raised in the insurgent district. Washington, therefore, made a requisition on the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, for militia to compose an army of twelve thousand men. It was afterward augmented to fifteen thousand. The governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were at the head of the

troops of their respective states. Gov. Lee, of Virginia, was commander-in-chief. In a letter to Gov. Lee, Washington desired him to convey to the army his high sense of their patriotism, their regard for the constitution and laws which had led them cheerfully to quit their homes ,and all the comforts of private life, to undertake and perform a fatiguing march and encounter the privations of a military life. "No citizen can be engaged in a more important service. It is nothing less than to consolidate and preserve the blessings of that revolution which, at much expense of blood and treasure, constituted us a free and independent nation." His parting admonition is: "That every officer and soldier bear in mind that he must be a supporter of the laws, and not an infringer of them; that the essential principles of a free government confine the *province* of the military to two objects: first, to combat and subdue all *found in arms;* secondly, to support the civil magistrate in bringing offenders to justice. The *dispensation* of this justice belongs to the civil magistrates; and *let it ever be our pride and glory* to leave the sacred deposit there inviolate." The great military army under Gen. Lee extinguished at once the kindling elements of a civil war. At the approach of this force, the insurgents laid down their arms. They extolled the clemency of the government, which was extended to them. When Washington, in his speech on the opening of Congress, November 19, 1794, announced the suppression of the insurrection in Pennsylvania, he had also the pleasure of giving favorable intelligence of the campaign of Gen. Wayne against the hostile Indians west of

the Ohio.* August 8, 1794.—"We remained," says Gen. Wayne, "three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, during which time all the houses and corn were consumed, or otherwise destroyed, for some distance above and below Fort Miami, and we were within pistol-shot of the garrison of that place, who were compelled to remain quiet spectators of the general devastation and conflagration." Wayne's army had been strengthened by eleven hundred Kentuckians. His force exceeded that of the savage warriors. In his official address to Congress, Washington had urged the adoption of some plan for the redemption of the public debt. A plan was reported by Mr. Hamilton, January 20, 1795, which he had digested and prepared on the basis of the actual revenues, for the further support of public credit. Mr. Hamilton now retired from his laborious post. He had long thought of retiring, as his pay was inadequate to the support of his family. He had postponed it on account of accusations brought against him in the second Congress, and of which he awaited the investigation. Mr. Hamilton retired from the cabinet on the last day of January, 1795. He was succeeded by Mr. Oliver Wolcott. The secretary of war, Mr. Knox, also retired soon afterward, and was succeeded by Col. Timothy Pickering. We have neglected to mention that Mr. Edmund Randolph succeeded Mr. Jefferson as secretary of state.

* Wayne gained a decisive victory at the battle of the Miamis. This was the last struggle of that brave, but ill-fated race, *on the Ohio*, until that of 1811, which resulted in the cession of *their lands* to the whites *forever*.

CHAPTER XXIX.

" The pillar of a people's hope,
The center of a world's desire;
Yet feels as in a pensive dream,
When all his active powers are still,
A distant dearness in the hill,
A sacred sweetness in the stream."

How sensibly must Washington have felt the loss of two such able coadjutors as Hamilton and Jefferson, the foremost men in American annals! Mr. Adams, however, as vice-president, was still near him, and other friends both wise and true. The successors, too, of the first secretaries were able men, but strong partisans of the Federal school. Wolcott was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Washington awaited with anxiety the result of Mr. Jay's mission. He knew that he had exposed his popularity to imminent hazard in opening a negotiation with England; but the peace and happiness of his country were now of more moment to him. Washington could scarcely hope for the complete success of the mission. At length, on the 7th of March, 1795, a few days after Congress had risen, a treaty arrived, which had been signed by the two ministers of the two nations, and was sent out for ratification. Mr. Jay wrote to Washington: "To do more was impossible. I ought not to conceal from you that the confidence reposed in your personal character was visible throughout the transaction." Washington immediately made the treaty a close study. Some of the provisions were satisfactory, others were not. But, believing it to be, as Mr. Jay alleged, the best treaty attainable, he determined to ratify it if the

Senate should approve it. Many of the people were predisposed to condemn this treaty, because they were vexed that overtures had been made toward a negotiation. "If it had been necessary," said the opposing party, "to send a minister to England, it should have been to make a downright demand of reparation for wrongs inflicted on our commerce, and the immediate surrender of the western posts." Meanwhile, Jay arrived. He found that, during his absence, he had been elected governor of New York, his native state. He therefore resigned the office of chief justice of the United States. The twelfth article of this treaty met with special objections. The article provided for a direct trade between the United States and the British West India islands, in American vessels not exceeding seventy tons burden, conveying the produce of the States or of the islands; but it prohibited the exportation of molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or *cotton*, in American vessels, either from the United States or the islands, to any part of the world. This was a restricted intercourse, but Mr. Jay considered the admission even of smaller vessels to the trade of these islands an important advantage. Cotton was now becoming an important product, and a restriction in this trade was considered a special grievance to the Southern people. The Senate was convened by Washington in June, 1795. The treaty of Mr. Jay was laid before it. The Senate sat with closed doors. Two-thirds of the Senate ultimately voted for its ratification, stipulating, however, that an article be added suspending so much of the twelfth article as related to the West India trade, and that the president be requested to open, without delay, further negotiations on this head.

Meanwhile the discontent concerning the treaty was daily increasing. Mr. Mason, a senator from Virginia, sent an abstract of the treaty to be published in a leading opposition paper. A portion of the cabinet, also, were opposed to the ratification. The support of the instrument was feeble, while the opposition to it was tremendous. Public meetings adverse to it were held in all the large cities. We can not enter into the *details* of this famous treaty: if we could fully appreciate its demerits or merits so as to give a clear exposition of it, it would probably be devoid of interest to our young friends. Mr. Tucker, in his life of Jefferson, says: "Whether more good or evil resulted to the United States from the ratification, there is still room for a difference of opinion. To trace out the chain of causes and effects in a series of events which have actually occurred, though not always an easy task, may yet be within the scope of human wisdom; but to perceive the concatenation on a different state of facts, is beyond the reach of any degree of sagacity: and no one can conclusively show that war would have been the certain consequence, or, though it had, that the spirit it indicated would not have prevented the subsequent spoliations of American commerce and the war of 1813. In such questions, the most we must look to is, whether we have defended our own rights without infringing the rights of others, and to approve or condemn the course as it has conformed to that rule. If tried by this test, it would not be easy to defend the treaty of 1794." In this unqualified condemnation of the treaty, Mr. Tucker says, "It is not meant to cast any imputation on the zeal, talents, or patriotism of its distinguished negotiator."

News now came that the order of the British government, of the 8th of June, 1793, for the seizure of vessels going to French ports, was renewed. Washington instantly directed that a strong memorial should be drawn up against this order, as it seemed to favor a construction of the treaty which he was determined to resist. While this memorial was in preparation, he was called off to Mount Vernon. The difficult and intricate questions pressing upon government, left Washington little freedom of mind to enjoy his beloved home. Early in August came a mysterious letter from Mr. Pickering, the secretary of war. The receipt of this enigmatical letter induced Washington to go immediately to Philadelphia. The matter related to Mr. Randolph, secretary of state. It was an embarrassing affair, which ended in the resignation of Mr. Randolph.

About this time the General Assembly of Maryland made a unanimous resolution to the following effect: "Observing with deep concern a series of efforts, by indirect insinuation or open invective, to detach from the first magistrate of the Union the well-earned confidence of his fellow citizens, they think it their duty to declare, and they do hereby declare, their unabated reliance on the integrity, judgment, and patriotism of the President of the United States."

In September, 1799, Washington published his famous "Farewell Address." In the preparation of his last address to his countrymen, he seems to have felt much solicitude. He well knew how much the people loved him, and believed that his last words, both on political and moral subjects, might have an abiding influence, not only on the generation for which he

wrote, but would have its influence for good on future ages. He wrote both to Mr. Madison and Mr. Hamilton to assist him in the arrangement of his "Address," but it can never be known how much or how little they contributed to this unrivaled and inimitable state paper. This address will be appended at the close of this volume. Alison, the historian of Europe from 1780 to 1815, a period fraught with the most momentous and remarkable issues in the world's history, says of Washington: "The close of this year, 1797, witnessed the resignation of the presidency of the United States of America, by General Washington, and his voluntary retirement into private life. Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances, rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character, than any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism, rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific councils when the independence of his country was secured. He bequeathed to his countrymen an address, on leaving their government, to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest without diffidence, sensible to the voice of fame without vanity, independent and dignified without either pride or asperity. He was a friend to liberty, but not licentiousness. He was a Cromwell without ambition, and a Sylla without his crimes; and, after

having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent commonwealth, closed his career by a relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed."

On the day after the inauguration of Mr. Adams, Washington set out for Mount Vernon, accompanied by Mrs. Washington, Miss Nelly Custis, and G. W. La Fayette, with his preceptor. Miss Custis had now matured into a lovely, attractive woman. The halls of Mount Vernon became the resort of admiring friends and lovers. She had been reared under the tender and watchful care of her grandmother, and educated by private teachers. She was a great favorite with the General, whom she often amused by her sprightly sallies, sometimes overcoming his habitual gravity and surprising him into hearty laughter. "I was young and romantic then" (referring to those days), said she to a lady, many years afterward. "I was fond of roaming by moonlight in the woods around Mount Vernon. I remember once, after one of my rambles, as I entered the drawing-room, my grandmother, seated in her arm-chair, gave me a severe reprimand. The General was walking up and down the room, as was his wont, with his hands behind him. I heard the General, in a low voice, interceding for me: 'My dear,' said he, 'perhaps she was not unaccompanied.' Hearing this, I opened the door. 'Sir,' I said, 'you have brought me up to speak the truth, and when I told grandmama that I was *alone*, I hope you believed that I was alone.' He then made me a magnanimous bow, and said, 'My child, I beg your pardon.'"

We will now quote a letter of advice to his adopted

child, with regard to her love affairs, when she was about to make her first appearance at a ball in Georgetown, D. C. She perhaps, to allay parental solicitude, had expressed indifference with regard to the attention of lovers. "Do not boast," he writes, "of insensibility toward your admirers. Young people feel the same inclination toward each other now, that they have ever done. Love is said to be an involuntary passion. This is partly true, but like all things else, it may be nourished and encouraged or stifled and repressed. Although we can not avoid first impressions, we can place them under guard. When the fire is beginning to kindle, ask yourself questions something like these: Who is this invader? Is he a man of good character? A man of sense? Have I a competent knowledge of him? Be assured, a sensible woman can never be happy with a fool. Is his fortune sufficient to maintain me as I have been accustomed, or as my sisters do live? Am I sure that I have really engaged his affections? Without this, a heart of sensibility will struggle against a passion that is not reciprocated." A nephew of Washington, Mr. Laurence Lewis, became, about this time, a resident at Mt. Vernon. The influx of visitors was so great that it became a part of Major Lewis' duty to assist his uncle in paying necessary attention to the guests. It was soon evident that a strong attachment subsisted between Miss Custis and Mr. Lewis. A formidable rival appeared in the person of young Mr. Carrol of Carrolton, who had just returned from Europe adorned with the graces of foreign travel, whose suit, too, Mrs. Washington was said to encourage. The nuptials of Miss Custis and Major Lewis were celebrated

on the 22d of February, 1779. The newly married couple were settled on a part of the Mt. Vernon lands, which he had designated in his will to be given to Miss Nelly. Washington was now at the haven of repose, to which his eyes had been long turned. In his rides in the vicinage of his home, melancholy thoughts would arise to sadden the landscape, as his mind reverted to former associations. In a letter to Mrs. Fairfax, then in England, he writes: "It is a matter of deep regret, when I cast my eyes toward Belvoir, that the former occupants are no longer there; the *ruins* of your beautiful home, serve as mementoes of pleasure that have passed away. Washington, although winter had now set in with occasional wind and rain and frost, still kept up his active round of in-door and out-door associations, as his diary proves. He was in full health; dined out occasionally; was part of every day in the saddle, going the rounds of his estates, as he dearly loved agricultural pursuits. But in the retirement of his happy home, he could not repress the solicitude with which he contemplated passing events. The condition of the country at the close of Washington's administration seemed to be promising. At home, a sound credit had been created; the difficulties incident to a system of internal taxation on its first introduction, had been surmounted; the authority of the government was firmly established. The numerous tribes of Indians inhabiting the immense tracts which lie between the cultivated country and the Mississippi, had been taught by arms and by justice to respect the United States. Abroad, the troubles with Spain had been accommodated and the free navigation of the Mississippi had been acquired,

with the use of New Orleans as a depot, for three years,* until some other equivalent place could be designated. Treaties had been made with the Barbary States. But now the growing discontents of the French Republic began to lower. Gen. Pinckney, who had been sent to France as the successor of Mr. Monroe, was rejected by the French Directory. The Directory announced to Mr. Pinckney their determination not to receive another minister from the United States until after a redress of grievances. Mr. Monroe had previously made known the complaint of the French government. A war with France soon became probable! The eyes of all were directed to Gen. Washington as the person who should command the American army. Mr. McHenry, the secretary of war, was sent to Mt. Vernon with a commission signed by President Adams, with the earnest request that Washington would accept the position of lieutenant-general provided France should actually declare war with the United States. Gen. Washington determined not to refuse once more to take the field, if circumstances rendered it necessary, provided he could be permitted to secure efficient aid, by naming the chief officers of the army, and should only be drawn into service in the event of actual invasion. "I can never," said he, "withhold my services from my country, when they are required. I would not remain an idle spectator under the plea of age or retirement. A war with *France* was surely a most undesirable thing, independently of all the terrible concomitants of war;

* In 1803, Louisiana—that is, all the country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains—was purchased by the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

for France had but a few years before assisted us in gaining our independence. A war with France, therefore, would have had an ungracious and ungrateful aspect. It is true, that the French government was wholly changed; it was at that time under the control of an arrogant and lawless directory, who had ruthlessly shed (at least when Robespierre was at the head) the blood of their best citizens. Rochambeau, who had commanded the French army under Washington, in our Revolution, narrowly escaped the guillotine. Nevertheless, it was proper that every effort should be made, and the cup of reconciliation drained to the last drop, than as an enemy meet in deadly strife an army who had so lately battled for us. It would have been, doubtless, an unwilling service to a majority of the American people. Gen. Washington had never believed that France would invade America, being fully persuaded that it was not the interest of France. Indirect pacific overtures were made, and a willingness on the part of France to accommodate existing differences, was communicated before America was ready for war. The President (Mr. Adams) eagerly accepted the overtures, and again appointed three envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French Republic. These ambassadors found the French government in the hands of one who had no part in the former imbroglio. With him they entered into amicable negotiations. Gen. Washington did not live to witness the restoration of peace.

CHAPTER XXX.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest?
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And *Freedom* shall an hour repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit *there*.

He who had filled so large a place in the world's history and in the world's esteem, was about to be summoned to "the great white throne" seen by the Apostle in vision, where both small and great must stand. "The illness of Washington was short and severe. So short was his illness, that the news of his death, at the seat of government, preceded the intelligence of his sickness." On Friday, the 13th of December, 1799, while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a slight rain, by which his neck and hair became wet. Not thinking of danger, he passed the afternoon as usual, but during the night he was seized with ague, attended by pain in the throat, a cough, and difficult deglutition. Believing bleeding to be necessary, he was bled by one of his attendants. He would not permit a servant to be sent for a physician until daylight, as the weather was harsh. Dr. Craik, his old friend, arrived about 11 o'clock. He, perceiving at once the extreme danger of the patient, sent for two other physicians. Speaking, which was very painful from the beginning, became almost impracticable. After repeated efforts

to be understood, he begged to be permitted to die without interruption. To his friend, Dr. Craik, who held his head, he said, with difficulty: "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to die." He requested to be left alone for a short time. Prayer had been a confirmed habit of his life. Mrs. Washington left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at his bedside, her head resting upon her Bible, from which she doubtless read, as she had opportunity, consoling passages to her dying husband.

His breathing became easier a few minutes before his death, and it is said (we suppose from the testimony of Mrs. Washington, who was near him during the whole time) that, breathing out this prayer, "Father of mercies, take me to Thyself," he fell asleep. He said to Mr. Lear, his private secretary, "I am just going. Have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault until two days after I am dead." Mr. Lear bowed assent. "Do you understand me?" said the General. Lear replied, "Yes, sir." "'T is well," said he. "He withdrew his hand," says Mr. Lear, "and felt his own pulse. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who now came to the bedside. The General then placed his hands over his eyes, and expired without a struggle." It was said, and believed at the time, that General Washington closed his own eyes; and "the writer is assured that such was the fact, from one who had the best opportunity of knowing." This is not a fact of much importance, but serves to show that, although Mr. Lear's account may be true as far as it goes, some things escaped his notice. It has been a subject of remark, that there was no minister of Christ with him, nor any of the

offices of the church administered in aid of his faith and hope. There were but a few hours of daylight during his illness. It was in the depth of winter, and a heavy snow fell on the day of his illness and death. There was no clergyman within a less distance than nine miles of Mount Vernon. The General considered himself to be dying during the greater part of the day. It is a most natural conclusion, that a man who had been so attentive to his religious duties during a long life, would have desired, had it been practicable, to have partaken of the memorials of the dying love of his Redeemer, during his last hours. During all the time that he was in the government, he was punctual in his attendance on divine worship. On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the President and Mrs. Washington attended divine service at Christ's Church, Philadelphia—Bishop White was then the rector—and in the evenings the President read to Mrs. Washington, in her sitting-room, a sermon on some portion of the sacred writings. After his retirement from the chair of state, the church in Alexandria was his place of worship. The distance was nine miles, yet his pew was seldom unoccupied. In his earlier years he had worshiped at Pohick Church, a forest sanctuary of Fairfax county. He was for some years a vestryman of this church. Pohick Church was probably in a ruinous condition at the close of the war, as the records of this church show that Washington worshiped there until the commencement of the Revolutionary war. "I never knew," says the Rev. Lee Massey, who was the rector of the church at that time, "a more constant attendant on church. His behavior in the House of God was so

deeply reverential, that it produced the happiest effects on my congregation. I have often been at Mount Vernon on the Sabbath morning, when his breakfast table was filled with guests; but to him they furnished no pretext for neglecting the worship of his God, for instead of staying at home, out of false complaisance to them, he always invited them to accompany him."

The deep and wide-spreading grief occasioned by his death, called together a great concourse of people for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to the first of Americans. On Wednesday, the 18th of December, attended by military honors and the offices of religion, his body was deposited in the family-vault at Mount Vernon.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Can that man be dead,
Whose spiritual influence is upon his kind?
He lives in glory; and his speaking dust
Has more of life than half its breathing molds.

When the intelligence of Washington's death reached Philadelphia, both houses of Congress adjourned. The officers of government testified the greatest respect for his memory. The whole nation was in mourning! 'T was not simply "the inky cloak," but genuine grief. John Marshall announced his death in the following words: "The melancholy event announced yesterday with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! The hero, the patriot, and the sage of America—the man on whom, in times of danger, every eye was turned and all hopes were placed—lives now only in his own great

actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people. If, sir, it had not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal. More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide-spreading empire, and to give to the Western world independence and freedom. Having effected this great object, for which we placed him at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare and sink the soldier in the citizen. When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our revolution had promised to bestow. In obedience to the general voice of his country, we have seen him, in order to preside over a great people, once more quit the retirement he loved, in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and true determination pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute more than any other could contribute to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, preserve our peace, our honor, and our independence. However the public confidence *may change* and the public affections fluctuate

with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues. Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels." General Lee (Light-horse Harry) prepared the resolutions which Judge Marshall presented to the House. In one of these *resolutions* the saying occurs, then we believe for the first time, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." This expressive apothegm has become hackneyed, and by constant repetition has lost much of its beauty and force. All classes and conditions bore testimony to the loved veneration that dwelt in their hearts for the Father of his Country. A little incident that occurred to the writer, when young, and when leaving home for the first time, may serve to show how abiding has been this love of the American people. We were ascending the Potomac river, in one of the boats that ply weekly between Baltimore and Washington, when suddenly the boat paused, and a sweet strain of music was heard. "What does that mean," I inquired. "We are passing Mt. Vernon, madam; and this is our usual *salute* to the tomb of Washington." My eyes filled with tears as I thought of the love that still dwelt in the hearts of our people. Byron speaks very beautifully of the burial-place of Napoleon I.:

> "That name shall hallow the ignoble shore,
> A talisman to all, save him who bore.
> The fleets that sweep before the eastern blast
> Shall hear their sea-boys hail it from the mast."

This, indeed, is fame. Yet the exercise of a mighty intellect uncombined with goodness, with the benevolence of the heart and with the purity of the life, can never produce deep feelings of love and veneration that will endure. If great deeds are performed, merely for self-exaltation, the idol and the idolatry will perish together. The national pride of the French exulted for a time in the "blazing reign" and wonderful achievements of Napoleon I., who delivered them from anarchy and bloody tyranny. The effulgence of his brilliant track rested for a time on the head of his distinguished nephew, until he had attained a pinnacle of power that astonished the nations; but his fall was signal. Both uncle and nephew crossed "the Rubicon of man's awakened rights."

The mother of Washington lived to the great age of eighty-three. Her home was in Fredericksburg, Virginia, about fifty miles from Mt. Vernon. He usually visited his mother twice a year when not prevented by public engagements. There are several of his letters to his mother; also letters to his sister specially in regard to his mother, breathing a most affectionate and filial spirit. In a Fredericksburg paper of March 12, 1789, we find the subjoined notice of a visit of Washington to his mother: "On Saturday evening last, His Excellency, Gen. Washington, arrived in town from Mt. Vernon. The object of his Excellency's visit, at this time, is to take leave of his aged mother, sister, and friends, previous to his departure for the new Congress, over the councils of which, the united voice of America has called him to preside." This was the last interview Washington had with his mother, as she died in the following August. A part of the

mourning-dress that Washington wore in remembrance of his mother's death, has been preserved by his relatives. The following sentence is found in his last will and testament: "To my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter." On the sad night of his dissolution, when attendants were preparing his body for the grave, a miniature likeness of his wife, was found on his breast, where it had hung suspended by a ribbon for more than forty years.

It is well known that Washington had no children, but he considered the grandchildren of his wife as he did his own relations, more especially those two whom they had reared from their earliest infancy,—"Wherefore, I give and bequeath," etc.

Against duelling, drunkenness, swearing, and gambling, Washington entered many protests. His own life and manners were a rebuke to unchastity and immodesty, either in word or act. From the Orderly Book, August 30, 1776: "The General is sorry to be informed that the foolish and wicked practice of profane swearing is growing in fashion—a vice heretofore little known in an American army. He hopes the officers will, by example as well as influence, endeavor to check it, and that they and the men will reflect that we can have little hope of the blessing of Heaven on our arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly. Added to this, it is a vice so mean and low, *without any temptation*, that every man of sense and character must detest and despise it."

In a circular to his brigadier-generals, dated 26th of May, 1777, are the following instructions: "Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigade; and, as a chaplain has been appointed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer's *ruin*. Games of exercise, for amusement, must not only be permitted but encouraged."

In a letter to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, who was then a student at Philadelphia, he says: "Remember that it is not the mere study of the law, but to become *eminent* in the profession of it, that is to yield honor and profit. The first was your choice; let the second be your ambition. Dissipation is incompatible with both. The company in which you will improve most will be the least expensive to you, yet I am not such a stoic as to imagine that you will, or to think it right that you should, always to be in company with senators or philosophers; but of your juvenile associates, let me advise you to be *choice*. It is easy to make acquaintances, but not so easy to shake them off when we find them unworthy. Be courteous to all, but intimate with few. True friendship is a plant of slow growth. Let your heart feel for the distresses of every one, and let your hand give in proportion to your purse, remembering the *estimation* of the widow's mite. All who *ask* are not worthy of charity, but all are worthy of the *inquiry*, or the deserving may suffer." He then gives sound advice with regard to dress, and most emphatical condemnation with regard to vices to which young men

are liable. He says of gaming, "It is the child of avarice, the brother of iniquity, and the father of mischief."

CHAPTER XXXII.

O! ye who bask in Fortune's sun
And Hope's bright garlands wear,
Your blessings, from the God of Love,
Let his *poor children* share!

For those young people for whom we chiefly write, especially boys, who sometimes think it an evidence of a want of spirit to acknowledge a fault, I will recount the following authentic anecdote: In the year 1754, when Washington was about twenty-two years of age, he was stationed in Alexandria, as colonel of a regiment of Virginia troops. During his stay in that town, an election for members of the House of Burgesses took place. His warm friendship for Col. George Fairfax, one of the candidates, brought him into collision with Mr. Payne, the friend of the other candidate, Mr. Elzey. In consequence of some offensive language, into which he was betrayed toward Mr. Payne, that individual struck him with a stick, and, so violent was the blow, that it knocked him down. There was great excitement among the officers and men because of the indignity offered to their beloved commander. He forthwith employed his influence in allaying the tumult, and then retired to his lodgings. From thence he wrote a note to Payne, requesting him to meet him next morning, as he wished to see him in reference to their recent disagreement. Payne met him at the appointed place, antici-

pating an unpleasant interview; but, instead of a hostile meeting, Washington asked his pardon for the passionate and improper language he had used in an unguarded moment. Payne witnessed with admiration this triumph of principle over passion, and a friendship was kindled in his bosom that he did not cease to cherish as long as he lived.

Gen. Washington left a large estate. He inherited from his father a small property. His elder brother bequeathed to him Mount Vernon. He received a large accession of wealth from his wife. He made extensive purchases of unimproved land, not only in Virginia, but in other states. A schedule appended to his will of that part of his property which was to be sold, for distribution among his general heirs, amounts to about half a million dollars. General Washington provided that, on the death of his wife, all the slaves held by him in his own right should be emancipated. "To give them their freedom during *her* life," the will proceeds, "would, though *earnestly* desired by me, be attended with such difficulties, on account of their marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations." For those emancipated, a comfortable support was provided for those unable to support themselves, by his heirs. Those who were too young to support themselves, were to be bound by the court till they were twenty-five years of age. They were to be taught to read and write by the masters to whom they were bound, and brought up to some useful occupation.

The will expressly forbids the sale or transportation of slaves out of Virginia, of whom he might die possessed. "And I do most pointedly enjoin upon my

executors, to see that this clause respecting my slaves be religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect, or duty. A regular and permanent fund must be established for their support, so long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by *individuals*." To the servant who had attended him during the war, immediate freedom was given. Food and clothes were to be supplied to him, and an annuity of thirty dollars. He was to have a home on the Mount Vernon plantation, so long as he would choose to remain in the situation he then occupied. The estate of Mount Vernon was bequeathed to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, at the death of his wife. This nephew was afterward one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. Gen. Washington was, as we have seen, *an owner* of slaves. He was a just, humane, and thoughtful master, considerate of their comfort, welfare, and happiness. He was born to this inheritance. He was opposed to slavery in the abstract. He lived at a time when the subject was but little agitated. This evil had been entailed upon the Southern colonies more than a century previous, against their will. The first slaves had been brought to Virginia, about 1620, in a Dutch ship. The ministry of the mother country insisted that the American Plantations should receive them, supposing that their labor would increase the revenue. Succeeding generations, born to this inheritance, exercised little thought in regard to slavery. The cruel or neglectful, as well as the hard task-master, was always despised by the good and refined; but whether a moral wrong was involved in the institution of slavery, was little discussed or thought of until within the

last half century. Almost all acknowledged that slavery *in the abstract* was wrong. The most beautiful traits of character were not unfrequently exhibited, both on the part of master and dependent. The moral wrong of a traffic in slaves was always recognized by the conscientious people of the South, and was regarded with horror; yet it seemed almost inseparable from the odious system. In 1808 the Southern States were foremost in uniting with the other states in prohibiting the African slave-trade. In 1785, Washington said, in a letter to Mr. Morris, "I will never possess another slave by purchase;" and again, in the same year, he uses these words: "There is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery; but there is only one proper, effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is legislative authority, and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting." Legislative authority did make efforts to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, especially in Virginia, in 1832. This subject was before the legislature at that time, and nearly all the best minds of the House were on the side of emancipation; but nothing was done. The terrible evil has been removed! But how? By a baptism of blood! The only good that proceeded from the late terrible civil war, was the removal of slavery. The late civil war, you will remember, raged furiously from April, 1861, to 1865. Thousands of the best and bravest of the land were sacrificed on both sides. The fairest portions of the South were desolated. When the war closed, slavery was gone! We turn from a hasty glance at the late war to the proper subject of our

memoir. Our task is nearly done. Washington's death startled his countrymen like an electric shock, though he had arrived at the mature age of sixty-eight. We have attempted to sketch in a simple, inartificial way, some of the most interesting and conspicuous incidents in the life of a remarkable man. A biography of Washington must of necessity be a history of the United States, for from the middle of the eighteenth century to its close, he was the central figure in every picture that may be drawn of national affairs. What a priceless heritage to the American people has been the virtuous, unselfish, and Christian life of Washington! There was a harmony in his life that, like sweet bells sounding down the track of time, has poured forth melody and unison, and has diffused an influence for good through all American history.

Note.—Mrs. Washington died in Alexandria in 1802. She survived her illustrious husband but little more than two years. From the commencement of her illness, which she bore with great composure, she declared she was undergoing the final struggle, and had long been prepared for her dissolution. She took the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from Dr. Davis, Rector of Christ's Church, Alexandria. She then sent for a white dress, which she had laid by for her last dress. In all the relations of life Mrs. W. had been truly exemplary.

'What hallows ground where heroes sleep?
'T is not the sculptured piles you heap.
In dews that heavens far distant weep
Their turf may bloom;
Or genii twine beneath the deep
Their coral tomb.

But strew his ashes to the wind
Whose *sword* or *voice* has served mankind—
And is he dead whose glorious mind
Lifts thine on high?
To live in hearts we leave behind,
Is not to die.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The subject of this chapter will be the pictures and statues of Washington; yet, before we speak of the representations of the physical man, we would recur again to the grand features of his moral and religious life. Washington did not live in a religious age. In the early days of colonization, England, or the mother church, showed much religious care for her colonies, in building large church edifices and in sending godly and learned ministers to officiate in them; but for a considerable portion of the eighteenth century, there was a lamentable decline of piety, both in the clergy and in the laity. There were some, doubtless, who kept alive the flame of devotion, and who had not (as in the days of Elijah) bowed the knee to Baal, but much coldness and indifference prevailed. The Revolutionary war did not tend to encourage a religious spirit, and the French Revolution, which came quickly after it, like a great tidal wave, deluged France with infidelity, and not only infected for a time the youth of America, but touched with poison some of our most distinguished men: yet Washington, in this irreligious age, held fast to his integrity, and continued to worship in the church of his fathers devoutly and regularly. In all his official documents, both in war and in peace,

he recognizes the superintending providence of God, and especially in the circulars to the governors of the states, and in his farewell address, he commends them to "the Divine author of our blessed religion," and speaks of the pure and benign light of Revelation. Much testimony has been adduced from his aids and officers to prove that Washington was in the daily habit of private prayer. Colonel Benjamin Temple, one of his aids, testifies, that on sudden, unexpected visits, he more than once found him on his knees, at his devotions, in the marquee. During the winter at Valley Forge, when the whole army were crowded together in log huts, it is said, on good authority, that Washington regularly retired to a neighboring wood for the purpose of private prayer. There were several famous infidels in England at this time, and among them Thomas Payne, who came over to America and professed much interest in our affairs. He wrote an able political pamphlet called "The Rights of Man," which enabled him to circulate one of the worst books ever published. This book was called "The Age of Reason." It was written to undermine the faith of Christians in the New Testament. Amid all the upheavals of society, and an intense, bitter spirit of scoffing infidelity, General Washington was an earnest, sincere believer in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The pictures and statues of Washington are very numerous. His portraiture is to be seen either on canvas or in marble or brass in every hall and gallery throughout the length and breadth of the land. The pictures so much resemble each other, that a glance reveals for whom it is intended; yet there are such

obvious points of difference in the work of different artists, that critics can easily detect the hand of the master who executed the work. Artists came over both from England and France to take his likeness. The portraits of Peale are very numerous. Trumbull, who also painted several portraits of Washington, was for some time one of the aids of Washington, and therefore had excellent opportunities of sketching accurately his features and of catching every varied expression. The portrait in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington is a very spirited copy of one of Trumbull's pictures, taken from an original painting in the gallery at New Haven. He painted one for Charleston, South Carolina. The idea of the artist in this picture was to depict him just before the battle of Trenton. He sees the superior numbers of the enemy: he knows the impossibility of recrossing the Delaware. The artist attempts to represent the moment of heroic resolve to conquer or to perish. When Trumbull told Washington of his intention to represent him in this connection, Washington became excited at the thought of that eventful moment, and he recited, with glowing interest, the feelings and circumstances of that dread time. Trumbull caught the inspiration, and, as far as canvas can express, depicted the sublime emotion of that hour. When La Fayette first saw this picture, it is said he uttered an exclamation of delight.

Gilbert Stuart came over from England to America with the especial purpose of making a portrait of Washington. He came in 1794. He painted Washington as a hero in retirement. Stuart painted three pictures from Washington himself, and also made several copies. Mr. Irving very eloquently says of

this representation of Stuart: "Let such pictures as David's Napoleon, with prancing steed, flashing eye, and waving sword, represent the mere victor and military genius; but he who spurned a crown and knew no watchword but duty, no goal but freedom and justice, and no reward but the approval of conscience and the gratitude of his countrymen, *lives* more appropriately, both to memory and in art, under the aspect of a finished life, *crowned* with the harvest of honor and peace, and *serene* in the consummation of disinterested purpose."

One of Stuart's pictures was taken at the request of Mrs. Washington, who wished to place it among the family pictures at Mount Vernon.

Mr. Jefferson, on behalf of the State of Virginia, arranged with Houdon, a sculptor of great merit, to come to America to make a marble statue of Washington. He came over with Dr. Franklin, and remained long enough at Mount Vernon to execute the head of the statue. He finished it at Paris. It is said Gouverneur Morris, whose figure strongly resembled that of Washington, stood frequently before the sculptor as the representative of his great countryman. This statue of Houdon's is in the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia. There is a statue of Washington, taken by Canova, in the State House at Raleigh, North Carolina.

One of the finest statues of Washington is an equestrian statue executed by Crawford, an American artist. Crawford was a New Yorker. He saw in a Richmond newspaper, proposals for a monument by the State of Virginia. The central figure was to be a

colossal figure of Washington. Grouped around on a star-shaped pedestal, were to be six figures of the great statesmen of Virginia. Crawford sent his model of Washington to Richmond, and it was preferred unanimously to any other model sent. Crawford went immediately to Italy to perfect his work. He afterward went to Munich, as the statue or statues were to be cast in bronze in a Munich foundry. This statue of Washington is twenty-five feet high; it was cast under the immediate personal superintendence of Crawford. The Richmond people testified their enthusiasm when the ship arrived, by dragging the statue to Capitol Hill, the place of erection. The ship that brought this statue, brought the sad intelligence of the artist's death. He only lived to finish, besides the equestrian statue of Washington, the statue of Patrick Henry. Like many other gifted men, he had overtasked his physical strength in his enthusiastic devotion to his profession. "He wing'd the shaft that quivered in his heart." It is a blest and beautiful art which recalls vividly to our minds the image upon which we love to dwell, though the impression of our loved ones is deeply graven in our hearts; yet the painter's touch or the sculptor's chisel serves to quicken our conceptions and to give life and coloring to those who have been removed from us. It is an honorable and laudable national pride that would perpetuate the forms of heroes and good men, in brass or marble. But no statue or painting, however imposing and beautiful, can fill the mind with such sublime emotions, as the contemplation of a well-spent life!

Thou who stealest fire,
From the fountains of the past,
To glorify the present, oh haste!
Visit my desire,
Strengthen me, enlighten me,
I faint in this obscurity,
Thou dewy dawn of Memory!

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MOUNT VERNON—CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

We have spoken, in the early part of this volume, of Mount Vernon. We have told our young readers from whom it was derived, and from whom it received its name. I now ask them to revisit with me the revered place. Seventy-three years have passed since Washington was laid in the tomb. Pilgrims resort thither, year after year, to visit his burial-place and the home he for many years gladdened with his presence. Many years since, we saw this place, so dear to every American heart. Mount Vernon is eight miles from Alexandria, in Fairfax county, Virginia, and fifteen miles from Washington City. The mansion is built of wood cut in imitation of free-stone. The central part of this building, it is said, was built by Lawrence Washington; the wings were added by General Washington. The rooms of the house are spacious and commodious, with some degree of elegance in the arrangement; but the whole is marked with great simplicity. There is a high piazza on the eastern front of the house. Under this piazza, we are told, upon the pavement of flat stones, Washington used to walk to and fro, with a military regularity, every morn-

ing, the noble Potomac in full view, spreading out to the width of a bay at the foot of the mount, and the shore of Maryland lining its eastern horizon. By the side of the door hung the spy-glass, through which he watched the passing objects on the river. There is one room which he used as a dining-room, where he used to meet his friends and political visitors. The furniture of this room is just as he used it. We remember that, as we entered this room, our attention was directed to a huge brass key that hung upon the wall. It had been sent to Washington by La Fayette, as an interesting relic. This hold of tyranny, the Bastile, was destroyed by the French people, my young readers will remember, on the 14th of July, 1789. All the friends of liberty throughout the civilized world rejoiced at the demolition of this hideous prison. You know that we learn from Holy Scripture that in the ancient Roman Empire "it was deemed unreasonable to send a prisoner to be judged without signifying the crimes laid against him;" but in modern France, previous to the French Revolution, men were thrown into the Bastile, when they had offended some of the ministers of government, by a "lettre de cachet," without knowing for what particular offense they were imprisoned. They only, I suppose, who have lived where the only *law* was the monarch's will, can fully appreciate the blessings of a constitutional government.

We must return to our theme—Mount Vernon. The rich verdure of the lawns, the neat hedges of the old-fashioned gardens, the grand old trees, and, beyond all, the tomb that incloses all that was mortal of Washington, imparted an inexpressible interest to the revered

place. In a retired spot, at a short distance from the house, we found the family tomb. We looked through a barred iron gate and saw two sarcophagi of white marble, side by side, containing the remains of Washington and his beloved wife, Martha Washington. But it was not what the eye gazed upon that filled us with strange, unwonted emotion. The spirits of the glorious dead seemed to hover around. Washington and many of his noble compeers *here* had roamed. Here they had planned and digested the schemes that had borne for us such goodly fruit, and had presented a model of government for the imitation of mankind. Thoughts such as these came thronging. "Each object was dim with associations, the shadow of something great and past." It was enchanted ground, and we walked amid the silent shades of Mount Vernon as those who dream.

> "The waters murmured of their names,
> The woods were peopled with their fame;
> The silent pillar, lone and gray,
> Claimed kindred with their sacred clay."

Should any of my young readers ever visit this spot, so dear to every American heart, do not turn away with disappointment from the gray, time-worn aspect of the house which was once the resort of the wisest and most virtuous of the land. This hospitable home of refinement and exalted sentiment, and also ever and anon of festal cheer, must always have been a simple, unostentatious structure, not to be compared with the palaces that we now see in commercial capitals on every hand. We appreciate the skill of the architect, and the taste of him who adorns the inner rooms with rare and exquisite articles of *vertu*, convenience, and

luxury; but these baubles (baubles by comparison) can not invest a dwelling with the elevating associations which cluster around the places, however faded and time-worn, that the great and good have called their own;—men who lived not merely for themselves but for posterity, leaving us as a *nation* a legacy beyond all price. The great dramatist says:

> "Heaven doth with us as we with torches do.
> Not light them for themselves, for if our virtues
> Did not go forth of us, 't were all alike,
> As if we had them not. Spirits are not
> Finely touched, but to fine issues—"

The centennial anniversary of the beginning of this republic is at hand. In three years the cycle will be complete. America is regarded as the youngest of the nations. Some few men, now living, knew her as a colony. If years were measured by what is achieved by progress in arts, and in all knowledge that has tended to increase comfort and material civilization, the century that is about to close, might be regarded as almost immeasurable. The thirteen colonies of our ancestors have become a mighty empire, extending from ocean to ocean. Space has been almost annihilated by steam. A girdle has been put around our hemisphere. China and Japan now send their products by our railways to continental Europe. The ends of the earth have come together. When American Christians first sent missionaries to the Chinese, they little dreamed that tens of thousands of those pagans would come to our own shores and a door for their evangelization be opened in our own country. But notwithstanding our blessings, how restless is man! Grim-visaged war has frowned upon us three

times during this century: the war of 1812, the war with Mexico in 1845, and the war between the North and South, from April, 1861 to April, 1865—a war never to be forgotten so long as one actor or one spectator of the bloody drama survives. It will long be remembered, we trust, as a warning to our people to avoid all unnecessary war. May the flames of war never again be rekindled on these shores! But there are also evils incident to a long-continued peace. Peace and prosperity tend to luxury and self-indulgence, and these degenerate into licentiousness and sin. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." There can be no well-founded hope of the perpetuity of our institutions, unless there be in the people a strong abiding sense of God's presence and of moral accountability. All social reforms must be distrusted, which are not founded on individual reformation. There is no hope for man, either in time or eternity, unless his passions are governed and his wicked propensities are subjugated. The mere education of the intellect can not accomplish this end. The intellectual nature may be highly cultivated, while the heart or moral part of our nature may be as "a cage of unclean birds." There is an abundant provision in this land for the education of the mental powers. Are our *homes* and churches equally zealous in training and regulating the moral affections? The heart must be touched by a power above ourselves. This instrument must be attuned to harmony by the *Hand that made it.*

"Ah! if our souls but poise and swing,
Like the compass in its brazen ring,
Ever level and ever true
To the toil and the work we have to do,
We shall sail securely and safely reach
The Fortunate Isles, on whose shining beach
The sights we see, and the sounds we hear,
Will be those of joy, and not of fear."

APPENDIX.

LAS CASAS—A NOTE ON THE INTRODUCTION.

We have referred our readers to a note at the end of the volume. We wished, in speaking of the remarkable men of the sixteenth century, to speak of Las Casas, the bishop of Chiapa. This remarkable man was born at Seville, in Spain, in 1474. After completing his studies in law and divinity, at the University of Salamanca, he embarked for the New World. His father had accompanied Columbus in his first voyage, and had acquired wealth in his vocation. Las Casas now accompanied Oviedo in the most brilliant armament that had ever been equipped for the Western World. A few years after, he was admitted to priest's orders in St. Domingo—memorable because he was the first ecclesiastic ordained in the colonies. Seeing the ignorance of the native population, and witnessing, with shame and distress, their cruel oppression by his countrymen, he determined to use all his energies to improve their condition; his whole heart yearned for their amelioration and enfranchisement. He was inspired by one great and glorious idea. He has commended himself to posterity, not by discoveries by sea and land, like some of his contemporaries, but in listening to the voice of conscience, or to the Holy Spirit within him, that bade him arise and consecrate his efforts for the good of those around him. It was a general idea, in his age, that it was not wrong to enslave the *heathen*. Even the benevolent Las Casas, when he saw the physical weakness of the Indian, and how they were melting away under the oppressive scheme of the *repartimientos*, recommended the importation of the more hardy negroes. This plan had been pre-

viously proposed, by the wisest and most benevolent, as a means of lessening the amount of human suffering. Las Casas afterward confesses with deep regret and humility that he had ever sanctioned the plan of the importation of negroes, saying such advice was founded on erroneous views; "that the *same law* applied equally to the negro as to the Indian." He was one of those to whose gifted minds are revealed those glorious moral truths which, like the lights of heaven, are fixed and the same forever, but which, though now familiar, were hidden from the many by the general darkness of the time in which they lived. For the furtherance of his benevolent views, he crossed the sea five times to obtain patronage and authority at home. Nothing daunted by the presence of royalty, he pleaded the cause of "the poor Indian" before Charles the Fifth. The government testified their sense of his signal services in the colonies and in the cause of humanity by presenting him with the bishopric of Cuzco—one of the richest sees in their gift. He refused it, not coveting riches or preferment; but he accepted the bishopric of Chiapa, because, from the poverty and ignorance of its inhabitants, it offered a wider field for spiritual labor. He preached, also, to the wild tribes of Nicaragua and Guatemala a *century* before the good Elliott preached to the Indian tribes of Massachusetts.

NOTE ON THE FIRST CHAPTER, WITH REGARD TO OLD STYLE AND NEW STYLE.

We have said General Washington was born on the 22d February, 1732—old style, 11th February. For the instruction of our young readers, we will add that the subject of our memoir was born *twenty years* before our *calendar* was reformed. Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the calendar in 1582, by retrenching ten days in October, in order to bring back the vernal equinox to the same day as at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325. England did not

make this change until 1752. The Parliament of England directed that eleven days should be retrenched from the month of September, reckoning the third day of that month as the fourteenth. In the calendar of Julius Cæsar there were eleven minutes too much in each year. Hence, in a long series of years, the necessity of the retrenchment of days.

NOTE ON THE THIRTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

The chief consideration that used to reconcile conscientious people to the existence of slavery, was the thought that their condition was far better in this country than in their own native country—Africa. The writer well remembers an incident of her early childhood. Traveling with her father in a sequestered part of the country, a ferry was crossed. The boat was pulled over by ropes. The ferryman was an old man—a *native* African. Father entered into conversation with him, asking him if he did not recollect when he was brought away from his country. "Yes, sir." "Are you sorry you came here?" "Oh, no, master. If I had not come here, I should not have known Jesus Christ."

A NOTE ON THE BATTLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

We are aware that our chapters, in describing some of the battles of the Revolution, are neither graphic nor spirited. It is difficult for one not skilled in military affairs fully to comprehend these things, or to be fired with sufficient enthusiasm to paint them truly. We are reminded of a story we have read somewhere of Hannibal, the great Carthaginian captain. A Greek sophist was discoursing at length upon the art of war to a large audience. Hannibal happened to be present. Some of the hearers were filled with admiration at the eloquence of the Greek. They appealed, with confidence, to Hannibal for his opinion. "I have seen many absurd men in my life, but never

one so absurd as this lecturer." We can understand the moral bravery and the spirit of resistance to oppression that dwelt in the hearts of the people, as evinced by the little battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. We are struck with admiration at the desperate resolve of Washington in crossing the Delaware on the December night, mid storms and tempests. We can fancy the sublime feelings of satisfaction and hope that excited the minds of officers and men when they saw Burgoyne, at Saratoga, withdraw his troops and surrender his sword. Above all, the grand surrender at Yorktown, 19th of October, 1781—the splendid consummation of toil, privation, and suffering. All this we fully grasp; but in the *details* on the battle-fields, we fear we have failed. We refer our young readers to a splendid description of *a battle scene*, in the poem of Marmion.

NOTE ON THE THIRTY-THIRD CHAPTER.

When we were about to close our Memoir, a church journal was sent us, containing an admirable sermon on the religious character of Washington. This sermon contains these words: "A deep spiritual apathy had crept into the very heart of the church, both in England and America. As Christians and as churchmen, it is sad to look back upon this period of English history. [The early part of the eighteenth century.] There was a ruling spirit at court, that encouraged such a man as Dean Swift to aspire to the episcopate, and which turned a cold shoulder and treated with cruel treachery such a man as Dean Berkeley. Open, scoffing infidelity vaunted itself in high places." We have spoken fully of the irreligious age in which Washington lived; but it must not be forgotten that some of the greatest writers and some of the best benefactors of the Christian Church lived in that age. While Wesley, reared in a religious home, and in the bosom of the Church of England, together with Whitfield, his noble

coadjutor, were preaching to the masses, and kindling a flame of devotion (not unlike the flame that Latimer and Ridley kindled in the sixteenth century, without the martyrdoms), Dr. Butler, bishop of Durham, was writing his unanswerable book on "The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature." This book was written in 1752. In the latter part of this century, Dr. Paley wrote "The Evidences of Christianity," "Horæ Paulinæ," and "Natural Theology." Books like these have been an invaluable legacy to the church. "The child yet unborn," says Sydney Smith, "shall bless the name of Paley for some of the books he has written." But perhaps no individual in any age ever exerted more influence for good than Miss Hannah More, by the establishment of schools for the poor in the district where she lived, and by the writing of religious tracts in opposition to the infidel tracts, that were in circulation in her time. The attacks of infidels, too, were nobly answered by Watson and others. The Presbyterians, too, of the last century, had many distinguished writers among them. Who has written so much to charm and instruct lisping infancy as Dr. Watts? How many of the spiritually minded have breathed out holy aspirations through his simple, eloquent hymns! Mr. Edwards, who wrote a famous work on "The Will," was a powerful champion on the side of Christian truth. "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," written by Mr. Doddridge, also belongs to the infidel age, of which we have spoken. This book is, we believe, little read now; but, in our experience, we have seen anxious inquirers after truth read it with eagerness and kindling interest. We have seen the pallid cheek glow, and the eye now turned from the vanities of earth, rest upon these pages with unfeigned delight. We have mentioned these things to prove that notwithstanding the coldness of the Church of England during a portion of the eighteenth century, and the prevalence of infidelity, there was still "a cloud of witnesses" to the value and truth of Revelation. To this age

belonged Toplady, who wrote the favorite hymn, "Rock of Ages;" also, Cowper, and Cecil, and John Newton, who awakened new zeal and energy in the church of their fathers. The present age is skeptical. There are those who would bring us back from their scientific researches "a message of despair." But there is little to be feared from "development theories," or other phases of science (falsely so called), so long as you strive, with "the help of God," to control animal passion; so long as you recognize the distinction between the nobler and baser parts of your being, and endeavor to lead a pure, upright, and useful life—preferring *truth* to falsehood, *justice* to violence, and *compassion* to cruelty. FAREWELL!

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow-citizens:

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest—no deficiency of respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had

even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary for me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it

always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amid appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament

of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken, in your minds, the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are

the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are generally outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of the indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an im-

mediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined can not fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionately greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing

parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern, Atlantic and western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious man-

agement of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which, at any time, exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the

people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be, to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, from the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our na-

ture, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of

popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern ; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them, must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to politi-

cal prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have

occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential you should practically bear in mind, that, toward the payment of debts, there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred

or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions and obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to the projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and the wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gliding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable

zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influences in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak nation toward a great and powerful one, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to vail and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the or-

dinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the

stream of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed (in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and natural opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not having given more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope that they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and the other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and constancy which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or miti-

gate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectations, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, *September* 17, 1796.

INDEX.

PREFACE 3
INTRODUCTION 5
CHAP. 1.—Anniversaries—Birth, baptism, and ancestry of Washington—Birthplace—Westmoreland Co., Va.—A tablet now marks the spot—A wise Congress—Prophetic opinion of Henry—Rutledge 11
CHAP. 2.—Father and mother of Washington—Father twice married—Two sons of the first marriage—Mary Ball, mother of George Washington—Instruction of the father, his early death—Favorite book of the mother—Property managed by the mother—Estate on the Potomac given to the oldest sons—College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Va.—Jefferson educated *there*—Washington desires to enter the British navy in his fifteenth year 14
CHAP. 3.—At sixteen years a visitor at the house of his brother Lawrence—Lawrence Washington had served in the royal navy, under *Vernon*, hence the name of his estate on the Potomac, Mount Vernon—Lord Fairfax—In 1748, Lord Fairfax intrusted Washington, a boy of sixteen, with the work of surveying *his* lands—Belvoir and Greenway Court—Fairfax an Oxford scholar—Washington's robust constitution, invigorated by a life in the wilderness, and rigid *temperance*—Letter to Dinwiddie 17
CHAP. 4.—British and French boundaries a subject of dispute—The powers of Europe claimed all the immense territories of the Red men—The Great Spirit—Pocahontas—Heroic conduct *true*. To future generations, the names of our lakes, rivers, and mountains will bear the most certain testimony of the existence of this people—Their history embalmed in the grand features of nature 21
CHAP. 5.—The Ohio Company—Plan of France to connect Canada with Louisiana, by a line of forts—Aggressive acts within the

province of Virginia—Dinwiddie sends George Washington, at twenty-two years of age, to the French commandant on the Alleghany river, to protest against the encroachments of the French—Washington set out October, 1753, to meet Indians on the Ohio, and French officers near Lake Erie—The commandant, St. Pierre, under the French governor Du Quesne, refuses to leave—The English prepare for a struggle—Washington executes his mission, and delivers St. Pierre's letter to the Governor of Virginia in eleven weeks—Encounters hardships—The founders of a nation, how great their glory..... 24

Chap. 6.—The Virginia Legislature authorizes their Governor to raise a regiment—Washington sets out as lieutenant-colonel, April, 1754, in advance, with two companies, to a place on the Monongahela called "Great Meadows"—The French had dispossessed the Ohio Company of the fort they were building, and themselves completed it, and called it Fort Du Quesne—Washington had only four hundred effective men, one company from South Carolina, one from New York, one from Virginia—They surprised a French encampment a few miles from "Great Meadows;" compelled to build "Fort Necessity;" encountered here a numerous foe, and surrender with the honors of war, retaining their side-arms—Failed to take, as they desired, Fort Du Quesne—Washington and his troops were complimented for their intrepidity in their conflict with De Villiers at "Fort Necessity"—In the winter following (1754), Washington retires from the army—Punctilious feelings wounded by orders received from England 28

Chap. 7.—Death of Lawrence Washington—Washington inherits Mount Vernon, and retires thither—Braddock invites him to be his aid—Accompanies Braddock—Action on the Monongahela—Rejects advice of Washington—Signal defeat—Braddock died four days after the battle—All the aids killed or wounded but Washington—French and Indians make extensive depredations on the settlements in the valley of Virginia—Herculean labors imposed on Washington—A frontier of three hundred and fifty miles in extent to defend—Fort Du Quesne now taken without bloodshed—Called Fort Pitt, after the Premier of England—Resigned his commission..... 31

CHAP. 8.—Marriage of Washington with Mrs. Custis—Domestic record unspotted—Interval between the marriage and his appointment as commander-in-chief spent chiefly at Mount Vernon—Winter months in the capital of his native state as legislator—Opposed taxation—Stamp Act—Repeal the next year—Patrick Henry—Colonial Congress adopts a Declaration of Rights (nine colonies)—Virginia and Massachusetts foremost in opposing taxation—Tea destroyed—Two regiments of British soldiers sent to Boston—Boston Port-bill—September, 1774, First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia—Peyton Randolph president—State papers sent to the *king and people of England*—Washington member of this Congress—Independence not the premeditated design..... 36

CHAP. 9.—To begin an insurrection a matter of solemn import—Lord Chatham's eulogy of the American State Papers—Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, *votes* with the minority—The hearts of the majority, like Pharaoh, are hardened—Dr. Franklin in London; he heard Chatham's speech—Virginia drained of her resources, by a war with the Shawanese Indians—Situation—Exposed to invasion—York, James, and Potomac bared it to invasions from the sea—March 20, 1775, second convention met at Richmond—*Then* and *there* Henry made his *famous speech*—Supported by Richard Henry Lee—Resolutions to put the colony in a state of defense—*Dunmore* seized the powder in a magazine at Williamsburg—April 19, Gage sends to Concord—Battles of Lexington and Concord—Important and sublime consequences..... 39

CHAP. 10.—Lord North, Premier of England, offers conciliation—Ticonderoga and Crown Point surrender to Arnold and Allen—On the day of the surrender Second Congress convenes at Philadelphia—Washington on all the *committees* for defense—Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, burns Norfolk to ashes—January 1, 1776, Washington made commander-in-chie—On June 15, 1775, accepts the momentous responsibilities—Receives no *pay*—Keeps an exact account of expenses—An army of 20,000 men ordered to be raised—Washington forty-three years of age—Description of his person—Religious opinions, remote from bigotry—His religion did not dwell in cold abstractions—Obeyed the command of our Lord, " Do this in

remembrance of me" — Communicant of the Episcopal Church..... 46

Chap. 11.—What constitutes a state?—Generals Howe, Burgoyne, Sir Henry Clinton, and Gage issued a proclamation last of May, 1775—Americans in arms, *rebels*, but offering *pardon* to all (except Samuel Adams and Hancock), if they would return to their allegiance—Defense of Dorchester Neck —In one night the Americans made a square redoubt forty yards on each side on Bunker Hill—Gen. Gates determines to drive away the provincials from that eminence—British advance three times—Americans *retreat* for want of ammunition —This action is called battle of Bunker Hill—British loss, 1,000 men—American loss 450—Armies sent to Canada under Arnold and Montgomery—Unsuccessful—Montgomery falls before Quebec—An affecting requiem pronounced by English statesmen on Montgomery's fate—For Arnold, *a traitor's grave is reserved*..... 50

Chap. 12.—July 3, 1775, Washington assumes command of the *Continental* army—Main body of the British under Gen. Howe—Boston in possession of the British—7,000 Americans in Boston pining with sorrow—A few royalists among them—American army in a semicircle from Dorchester to Malden, about nine miles, on both sides Charles river, under the command of Maj.-Gens. Ward, Charles Lee, and Washington—The last commanded the center—The army presented a motley crew, Hearts stout and brave—14,000 men fit for duty—Want of powder—Great exertions to obtain a supply..... 53

Chap. 13.—Mrs. Washington visits the camp at Cambridge—Her equipage—Letters of Mrs. John Adams; she notes with "naivete" of the festivities of this time—Interesting *letter* of Washington to his *agent* at Mount Vernon—A *gem* of soft but enduring lustre—The chain of Dorchester Heights fortified—Howe determines to evacuate Boston, March 17, 1776—The people of the city joyful—Howe goes to Halifax, then to New York—Lord Howe, his brother, joins him at New York—Anxious to possess themselves of the Hudson river, to open intercourse with Canada, and separate the Eastern from the Southern States—Washington preceded the Howes to New York—Georgia has entered the Confederacy—Thirteen colonies—

Four major-generals appointed, Ward, Lee, Schuyler, Putnam—Gates, adjutant-general.. 55

Chap. 14.—Congress appointed, June 21, 1775, eight brigadiers —Officers of great *merit* but inferior rank soon became conspicuous—Foreign officers came also; the most beloved was La Fayette—De Kalb came with La Fayette—Kosciusko was presented by Dr. Franklin—Conway an Irishman—Pulaski—Steuben, who had been an aid of Frederick the Great, was sent to Valley Forge, as inspector-general..... 60

Chap. 15.—Washington perceives the difficulties of his situation at New York—Hulks sunk in the Hudson—Fortifications erected on both sides of the river, ineffectual—Dunmore gives Virginia trouble—Virginia repulses Dunmore's forces, under command of Woodford, assisted by John Marshall as lieutenant, afterward chief justice—Victory gained on Sullivan's Island, South Carolina, by Moultrie—Sustained by Rutledge and Gadsden—Gallant act of Jasper—Fort afterward called *Moultrie*—A few weeks after followed the serious defeat at Long Island, New York—General and Admiral Howe make a furious attack —Army large—Assisted by Hessians—Greene sick—Command given to Sullivan—Washington passes over to camp at Brooklyn—The carnage of his troops—Retreats in safety, favored by a fog—Sullivan a prisoner—Defect in the construction of the army—No cavalry—No videttes—Congress convinced that a new plan of operation was necessary—Eighty-eight battalions to be raised by levies on the different States..... 64

Chap. 16.—Washington retreats to New York Island, then to White Plains—A committee meet Lord Howe on Staten Island Sept. 11, 1776—Too *late* for compromise—Declaration of Independence sent forth to the world *two months* previous—Forts Washington and Lee, on the Hudson, surrendered—Washington invigorates and inspires with confidence his feeble and harassed army—His firmness and trust unwavering—A large number of Philadelphians form an association for the defense of their city..... 69

Chap 17.—Gen. Charles Lee (the Englishman), through carelessness and self-sufficiency, was taken prisoner in Morris Co., N. J., by Col. Harcourt—Regarded by the army as a great misfortune—Sullivan and Gates rejoin Washington on the same

day—Cornwallis covered Jersey with troops to impede recuiting—Washington crosses the Delaware—His division succeeds—Two fail to cross—Battle of Trenton—Rahl, the Hessian commander, killed—Battle of Princeton—The British army astonished—The American army greatly exhilarated by the victories of Trenton and Princeton—Philadelphia saved for that winter (1777), and New Jersey recovered—Self-sacrifice—Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee sent to France for *aid* early in 1776—La Fayette came in Dec., 1776—Varied destiny of this great man—In 1789 he is in a dungeon at Olmutz—1824, followed by triumphal processions as a visitor to the United States—1830, solicited by the French people to choose for them a *ruler*... 72

Chap. 18.—At Chadd's Ford, Brandywine creek, a battle was fought—A defeat—11th Sept., 1777—Battle of Germantown—Winters of 1777-1778 passed by the army at Valley Forge—Great suffering—The army would have *vanished* under their terrible trials at this time had it not been for the patriotism of the soldiers, and their *dovotion to their leader*—Splendid victory at Saratoga, 19th Sept., 1787—Burgoyne the British general—Gates the American general—Total loss of the British nearly 10,000 men—France acknowledges the independence of America—Immediate assistance promised—July 11, 1780, a French fleet is seen between the capes of Virginia and the Delaware—Rochambeau, De Ternay, D'Estaing, French commanders—Battle of Monmouth—Lee had been released and was in this battle—Received a reproof from Washington—Obeyed the order and fought well—Wounded by the rebuke—Wrote disrespectful letters—Tried by a court-martial—Suspended—Never returned to the army—Massacre at Wyoming..... 77

Chap. 19.—Arnold takes command of Philadelphia, 1778—He is tried for misdemeanors—Reprimanded by Washington—Trial lasted from June, 1778, to Jan., 1779—His unprincipled spirit revolts—Solicits and obtains the responsible command of West Point—Betrays his trust—Makes his escape—André is executed—Thanks of Congress are rendered to the three militiamen who apprehended André—Also a medal with an inscription—Poverty of the public resources—$200 to be paid per annum to each of them..... 84

CHAP. 20.—War prosecuted with vigor in the Southern States—In the beginning of 1779, few posts remained in the hands of the Americans—Col. Pickens' victory at Kettle creek—Major Henry Lee—Takes prisoners at Paulus Hook—Paul Jones, in 1779, took two British frigates—Count D'Estaing fails to recover Savannah—Sept. 1779—Pulaski slain—Tarleton's (British) cruelties—Marion and Sumpter active guerillas—Gates made commander in the South after his victory at Saratoga, but removed from the Southern department after his defeat at Camden—Greene put in his place—Major Harry Lee (Lieutenant-Colonel) ordered to join the Southern department—Alternations of victory and defeat—Victory at the battle of the Cowpens—Morgan the victor—Battle of Guilford C. H.—Robert Morris at the head of the finances—Enables Congress, by his energy and skill, to prosecute the war—Cornwallis goes on a long march to North Carolina and to Virginia—Greene leaves North Carolina and goes into South Carolina—Successful activity of one corps—The *legion* adapted to the warfare of the Southern States—Battle of Eutaw Springs..... 90

CHAP. 21.—Those who engaged in this fiercely fought battle knew not that the *end* was near—Sept. 1781, Cornwallis, after pursuing La Fayette, takes a position on York river—Collects his whole force at Yorktown—He hears of a French fleet on the coast—De Grasse arrives at Cape Henry—La Fayette is stationed on the James river to prevent the escape of Cornwallis—Four ships of the line are at the mouth of the York—Washington goes to Virginia—Clinton is deceived..... 97

CHAP. 22.—The siege of Yorktown—De Grasse proposes to go into the open sea—Not Themistocles of old was more urgent than was Washington to insist upon his remaining—19th of Oct., 1781, Cornwallis surrendered—Letters between Washington and Cornwallis—The whole army deserved much praise—Rochambeau—Col. Nelson, when consulted where the siege should begin, pointed to his own house—Cornwallis surrendered 7,000 men—Our allied army is estimated at 16,000 men..... 103

CHAP. 23.—After the surrender—No more fighting—Parliament's decision—Fox, Pitt, and Burke, members of this Parliament—Nov., 1782, a preliminary treaty signed at Paris—Commissioners from the United States were Adams, Franklin, Jay, and

Laurens—Army disbanded, Nov., 1783—Charleston given up Dec., 1782—Carleton succeeds to Clinton—He is conciliatory—Peace declared in 1783—Dec. 4th, an affecting parting between Washington and his officers—Washington goes to Annapolis and resigns his power to Congress—Addresses..... 109

Chap. 24.—The day after he leaves Annapolis, he retires to Mount Vernon—In 1784, visits his lands on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers—He receives a present of shares in the James river and Potomac companies—He devotes the money, $40,000, to the endowment of a college in Lexington, Rockbridge county, Va..... 116

Chap. 25.—Washington's devotion to agriculture—1784, La Fayette visits him at Mount Vernon—From 1778 to 1787, the United States existed under "the articles of confederation"—A convention at Philadelphia, 25th of May—Sat for four months—Washington president of the convention—The result of their deliberations was our present Federal Constitution—Washington chosen president for four years—Two parties prominent, Federalists and Republicans—Jefferson, leader of the Republican party, secretary of state—Gen. Washington a Federalist—Not a strong partisan..... 120

Chap. 26.—Journey to New York a triumph—The inauguration—Inaugural address—Assemblage attend church—Wise counsellors—Madison, Hamilton, and Jay—Knox, secretary of war—Hamilton, secretary of the treasury—Jefferson opposed to the re-eligibility of the president—John Adams, vice-president—Mrs. Washington has levees on Friday evenings—She regulates form and ceremony—Sanctity of Sunday strictly observed by Washington and his household—Death of Lord Fairfax—Washington's love of horses..... 125

Chap. 27.—The judicial department—Edmund Randolph, attorney-general—John Jay, chief justice—Debt, $54,000,000—Genet troublesome—Sent by France—Jefferson and Hamilton—War-whoop heard in 1790 in the vicinity of Fort Washington (now Cincinnati)—Two vexed questions—Disastrous Indian expedition under St. Clair—Washington's letter to Madame La Fayette—Offer of pecuniary aid—Her son three years at Mount Vernon—Louis Philippe also *there*..... 134

Chap. 28.—Washington re-elected a second time to the presidency—John Adams—A reign of terror in France—Louis

XVI. beheaded—Jefferson resigns—Retires to Monticello—Mr. Jefferson head of the *French* party—A special envoy to England—Gouverneur Morris recalled from France—Mr. Monroe goes in his place—Insurrection in Pennsylvania—Favorable campaign of Wayne—Hamilton retires, 1795—Wolcott succeeds—Randolph succeeded Jefferson..... 140

CHAP. 29.—Jay's treaty arrives, and produces much excitement—Mr. Mason, of Virginia—Sept., 1796, "Washington's Farewell Address"—Alison's "Opinion"—Inauguration of Mr. Adams—Mrs. Washington, Miss Nellie Custis, accompany Washington to Mount Vernon—Miss Custis marries Mr. Lewis, the nephew of Washington..... 147

CHAP. 30.—Death of Washington—Grief of the people..... 157

CHAP. 31.—Marshall announces the death of Washington to Congress—Gen. Harry Lee prepared the resolutions that Marshall presents to the House—"Letter to his nephew, Bushrod Washington"..... 160

CHAP. 32.—His noble conduct to Payne when young—Opposition to duelling and all vice—The will of Washington—Provision for his slaves—"Slavery"..... 166

CHAP. 33.—Pictures and statues..... 171

CHAP. 34.—Mount Vernon..... 176

APPENDIX.—Note on the introduction, Las Casas—Note on Old and New Style—Note on the 32d chapter—Note on the battles of the Revolution—Note on the religion of the eighteenth century—Washington's Farewell Address..... 181

MAR 31 1908

0 011 839 054 4